

Chaco Culture National Historical Park

U.S. National Park Service

A Case Study

The Getty Conservation Institute, Los Angeles

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The Getty Conservation Institute works internationally to advance conservation and to enhance and encourage the preservation and understanding of the visual arts in all of their dimensions—objects, collections, architecture, and sites. The Institute serves the conservation community through scientific research; education and training; field projects; and the dissemination of the results of both its work and the work of others in the field. In all its endeavors, the Institute is committed to addressing unanswered questions and to promoting the highest possible standards of conservation practice.

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Introduction

Over the past five years, the GCI has undertaken research on the values of heritage. Following work on the nature of values, on the relationship between economic and cultural values, and on methods of assessing values,¹ the current effort aims to illustrate how values are identified and assessed, how they play into management policies and objectives, and what impact management decisions have on the values. This analysis of Chaco Culture National Historical Park (CCNHP) is one of four analyses of heritage sites undertaken by this project. Each discussion is published as a case study.

Site Management—Traditional and Values-Based

Heritage site management can be defined simply as “the way that those responsible [for the site] choose to use it, exploit it, or conserve it.”² Authorities, however, seldom make these choices solely on their own. As the interest in heritage and heritage sites has grown, people have come to anticipate benefits from these resources, and authorities must take into consideration these expectations. Many cultural sites are appreciated for their cultural and educational benefits; some are seen primarily as places of recreation; and others are expected to act as economic engines for communities, regions, or nations. Sometimes the expectations of different groups can be incompatible and can result in serious conflicts.

Although heritage practitioners generally agree that the principal goals of cultural management are the conservation of cultural resources and/or their presentation to the public, in reality, cultural sites almost always have multiple management objectives. The result is that often the various activities that take place at these sites—such as conservation interventions, visitor management, infrastructure development, and interpretation—are handled separately, without a unifying process that focuses all decisions on the common goals.

In recent years, the field of heritage preservation has started to develop more integrated approaches to site management and planning that provide clearer guidance

for decisions. The approaches most often favored are those called *values-based*.

Values-based site management is the coordinated and structured operation of a heritage site with the primary purpose of protecting the significance of the place as defined by designation criteria, government authorities or other owners, experts of various stripes, and other citizens with legitimate interests in the place.

Values-based approaches start by analyzing the values and significance attributed to cultural resources. They then consider how those values can be protected most effectively. This systematic analysis of values distinguishes these management approaches from more traditional ones, which are more likely to focus on resolving specific problems or issues without formal consideration of the impact of solutions on the totality of the site or its values. While there are variations in the terminology and specifics of the processes followed, values-based management is characterized by its ability to accommodate many heritage types, to address the range of threats to which heritage may be exposed, to serve the diversity of interest groups with a stake in its protection, and to support a longer-term view of management.

There are many sources of information that can be tapped to establish the values of a site. Historical records and previous research findings have been the most used in the past, and they are generally consulted first. Values-based management places great importance on the consultation of stakeholders—individuals or groups who have an interest in a site and who can provide valuable information about the contemporary values attributed to the place. Traditional stakeholders of cultural sites have been professionals in various disciplines—such as history, archaeology, architecture, ecology, biology, and so on—whose input is expressed through their research or expert opinions. More recently, other groups who value heritage sites for different reasons have been recognized as stakeholders too. These new stakeholders can be communities

living close to a site, groups with traditional ties or with interests in particular aspects of the site. Stakeholders with wide-ranging and sometimes conflicting interests in a place may perceive its values quite differently. However, most of the values articulated in a values-elicitation or consultation process are legitimate, and thus they merit serious consideration and protection as the site is used.

In its strictest definition, values-based management does not assume a priori, the primacy of traditional values—historical, aesthetic, or scientific—over others that have gained recognition more recently, such as social ones. However, in the case of sites of national or regional significance, the principal values recognized are almost always defined by the authorities at the time of designation. In those instances, the values behind that significance ordinarily have primacy over all others that exist or might eventually be identified. In all sites (national and others) some of the ascribed values will be deemed more important than others as the significance of a place is clarified.

Once the values of a site have been identified and its significance established, a critical step to assure their conservation—and one of the most challenging aspects of this approach—is determining where the values reside. In its most literal sense, this step can mean mapping the values on the features of the site and answering questions about which features capture the essence of a given value. What about them must be guarded in order to retain that value? If a view is seen to be important to the value of the place, what are its essential elements? What amount of change is possible before the value is compromised? A clear understanding of where the values reside allows site managers to protect that which makes a site significant.

Values-based heritage management has been most thoroughly formalized in Australia, where the Burra Charter guides practitioners.³ Faced with the technical and philosophical challenges posed by aboriginal places, nonarchitectural sites, and vernacular heritage, Australian heritage professionals found that the existing guidance in the field (such as the deeply western European Venice Charter) failed to provide adequate language and sensitivities. Building on the basic ethics and principles of the Venice Charter, they devised guidelines for heritage management that became the Burra Charter, a site-specific approach that calls for an examination of the values ascribed to the place by all its stakeholders and calls for the precise articulation of what constitutes the site's particular significance. While it is officially endorsed only in Australia, the Burra Charter is an adaptable model for site management in other parts of the world, because the

planning process it advocates requires the integration of local cultural values.

VALUE AND SIGNIFICANCE

Value and significance are terms frequently used in site management with various definitions. This holds true for the organizations involved in this case study project; each of them uses these terms slightly differently, and they are often guided by wording included in legal or regulatory documents.⁴

In this study, *value* is used to mean the characteristics attributed to heritage objects and places by legislation, governing authorities, and/or other stakeholders. These characteristics are what make a site significant, and they are often the reason why stakeholders and authorities are interested in a specific cultural site or object. In general, these groups (or stakeholders) expect benefits from the value they attribute to the resource.

Significance is used to mean the overall importance of a site, determined through an analysis of the totality of the values attributed to it. Significance also reflects the degree of importance a place has with respect to one or several of its values or attributes, and in relation to other comparable sites.

As mentioned earlier, the significance of national sites is often established by legislative or designation processes, and these processes generally yield a narrower definition of significance than the one provided here. In the case of Chaco Culture National Historical Park, its significance was established by a presidential proclamation in 1907. The significance of units in the national park system is often called “the purpose of the park.”

The Case Study Project

Since 1987 the Getty Conservation Institute has been involved with values-based site management planning through research efforts, professional training courses, symposia, and field projects. As an extension of this commitment, and associated with a related research and publication effort on values and heritage conservation, the Institute has led an effort to produce a series of case studies that demonstrate how values-driven site management has been interpreted, employed, and evaluated by four key organizations. In this project, the GCI has collaborated with the Australian Heritage Commission, English Heritage, Parks Canada, and the U.S. National Park Service (NPS).

All four national agencies employ approaches to the management of their own properties that reflect their

own histories and legal environments. However, they all have expanded their approaches to define, accommodate, and protect a broader range of values than a stock set traditionally associated with heritage places.

The case studies in this series focus on values and their protection by examining the place of values in management. By looking at individual sites and the management context in which they exist, they provide a detailed example that describes and analyzes the processes that connect theoretical management guidelines with management planning and its practical application. The analysis of the management of values in each site has been structured around the following questions:

- How are the values associated with the site understood and articulated?
- How are these values taken into account in the site's management principles, policies, and strategies?
- How do management decisions and actions on site affect the values?

The four sites studied as part of this project—Grosse Île and the Irish Memorial National Historic Site in Canada, Port Arthur Historic Site in Australia, Chaco Culture National Historical Park in the United States, and Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Site in the United Kingdom—were identified by their national organizations. Each of the sites examined in this study was put forth as an example of how values issues have been addressed by their respective stewards. The studies do not attempt to measure the success of a given management model against some arbitrary standard, nor should they be construed as explaining how an agency handles all its sites. Rather, they illustrate and explain how four different groups have dealt with the protection of values in the management of four specific sites and how they are helped or hindered in these efforts by legislation, regulations, and other policies. In those instances where the negative impact of policies or actions has been noted, it has been done to illustrate the complexity of managing sites with multiple values. These comments should not be taken as a judgment of the actions of the site authorities.

The organizations participating in this project share a belief in the potential usefulness of values-based management in a broad range of international contexts. These studies have a didactic intent, and they are intended for use by institutions and individuals engaged in the study and/or practice of site management, conservation planning, and historic preservation. As such, they assume that the reader is familiar with heritage management con-

cepts, international charters and guidance, and general conservation principles.

About This Case Study

This case study looks at the management of Chaco Culture National Historical Park by the National Park Service. This site was declared a national monument in 1907 and became one of the original units of the NPS when the agency was created in 1916. The long history of CCNHP as a heritage site provides an excellent illustration of how values emerge and evolve with new knowledge, as well as of how they are influenced by changes of values in society. This case also explores how the specific values and circumstances of a site can be respected within the very specific management guidance provided by a complex national agency with responsibility for a large number of sites. Both the emergence and evolution of values and the management of a site as part of a large system provide opportunities to analyze the resolution of conflicts and the impact of management decisions.

The remainder of the case is presented in two parts. First, "Management Context and History of CCNHP" provides general background information about the NPS and the site. It first describes the management context of the NPS, including its place in the government, its organization, and the administrative guidance it provides for managers of the resources under its stewardship. The discussion then narrows its focus to CCNHP itself, addressing the geographic location of the Park, its history of habitation, and its evolution as a heritage site. The final section of this part describes the Park's features, partnerships, infrastructure, and facilities.

The archaeological remains of the Chacoan civilization protected by the Park are recognized to have national and international significance. The significance assigned to this site has always been based on these archaeological resources, but the character of the values attributed to them has changed and expanded over time. The initial section of the next part, "Understanding and Protecting the Values of the Park," examines how the values of CCNHP have emerged and evolved over its history. The following section analyzes how these values are reflected in the policies that guide the operations of the site. The final section explores the impact that these policies—and other management actions—have had on the values of the site and includes examples of how some specific situations were handled by the site authorities.

Management Context and History of CCNHP

Management Context

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

The NPS is a federal agency within the United States Department of the Interior. This department, through its various agencies, is responsible for the management of most federal public lands in the United States, which constitute one-third of the total acreage of the country. The agencies that make up the department cover a great deal of ground, literally and figuratively; in addition to the NPS, they include, among others, the Bureau of Land Management, the Fish and Wildlife Service, the Office of Surface Mining Reclamation and Enforcement, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The secretary of the Interior and the agencies' directors manage the inevitable conflicts resulting from the overlapping mandates and resources for which they are accountable. The secretary and the agency directors are appointed by the U.S. president and generally represent the particular views and philosophy of a political party.

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

The U.S. Congress created the NPS in 1916 with the mandate to preserve natural and cultural resources of national significance. The founding legislation states that "the Service shall promote and regulate the use of Federal areas known as national parks, monuments and reservations by such means and measures as conform to the fundamental purpose of the said parks, monuments and reservations, which purpose is to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein, and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations."⁵

At its founding, the NPS assumed responsibility for twelve existing national parks, nineteen monuments (including Chaco Canyon National Monument), and two reservations. Its mission specified the dual obligation of conserving the scenery and the cultural and natural resources, and providing access for their enjoyment. Interpretations of what constitutes conservation, access, and

unimpaired resources have created tensions between these obligations at various times during the history of the NPS. Over the years, however, the unimpairment imperative from the NPS mandate has been interpreted by NPS directors and sometimes by secretaries of the interior as giving conservation primacy over access.⁶ This position is strongly supported in current NPS management policies.⁷

The NPS presently has responsibility for 385 units or places of national significance—natural, historical, and recreational areas—the diversity of which is demonstrated by citing a few examples: Yellowstone National Park, Independence National Historical Park, Mesa Verde National Park, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, Abraham Lincoln's Birthplace National Historic Site, the Blue Ridge Parkway, Cape Cod National Seashore, and the White House.

Located in the States, the District of Columbia, American Samoa, Guam, Puerto Rico, Saipan, and the Virgin Islands, the NPS properties include 56 national parks, 39 national historical parks, 75 national monuments, 19 national reserves and preserves, 78 national historic sites, and 25 national battlefields. More than half of the units of the system are considered to be of cultural or historic significance.

In addition to these sites, the NPS "administers a broad range of programs that serve the conservation and recreation needs of the nation and the world. Examples include the National Register of Historic Places, the National Historic Landmarks Program, the National Landmarks Program, the Land and Water Conservation Fund Grants Program, the Historic American Building Survey, the Historic American Engineering Record, the American Battlefield Protection Program; the National Maritime Heritage Grants Program, the Rivers, Trails and Conservation Assistance Program; and the Tribal Heritage Preservation Grants Program" (NPS 2000a, inside cover).

Over its eighty-six years, the NPS administration has expanded and contracted, as the times have required and as resources have allowed. In the mid-1990s, as part of an effort to streamline the federal government, the NPS

underwent a decentralizing reorganization that reassigned twelve hundred jobs from the headquarters in Washington, D.C., and regional offices to individual parks and specialized service centers.

The mission of the NPS to preserve unimpaired the natural and cultural resources and values of the national park system for the enjoyment, education, and inspiration of this and future generations represents a great deal of responsibility.⁸ But, as with many large U.S. government bureaucracies, the actual authority for selecting and implementing management strategies resides in legislation and related procedural documents written to ensure compliance. As NPS policy clarifies, “the management of the national park system and NPS programs is guided by the Constitution [of the United States], public laws, treaties, proclamations, Executive Orders, regulations, and directives of the Secretary of the Interior and the Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife and Parks.”⁹

In the current organization, each park or site has a management team headed by a superintendent, who is the principal authority in most decisions regarding that unit. Superintendents report to their respective regional directors, but outside the issuing of certain permits, most park operations are handled locally once the annual budget and activity plans are approved. Superintendents have been compared to ship captains: “others might own the property and determine the cargo, but once away from the dock (or in the field), the captain (or superintendent) makes the decisions.”¹⁰

Description of CCNHP and Its Context

NATURAL CONTEXT

CCNHP is situated in the northwestern part of the state of New Mexico, near the center of the 6.47-million-hectare (25,000-square-mile) San Juan Basin, within the much larger Colorado Plateau. The basin is generally semiarid, typically receiving only 21.6 centimeters (8.5 inches) of precipitation annually, which accounts for the region’s sparse vegetation. Summers bring intense but brief thunderstorms with flash floods. Annual temperatures vary widely, with winter lows well below freezing and summer peaks around 38°C (100°F). Year-round, daily temperatures at Chaco Canyon also tend to range widely, rising and falling with the sun, due to its elevation in excess of 1,829 meters (6,000 feet).

The Park today covers approximately 13,760 hectares (34,000 acres). Chaco Canyon itself, which cuts east-west through the Park, is some 91 meters (300 feet)



Figure 1. North Mesa. The limited vegetation, temperature extremes, occasional flooding, and gusting winds contribute to active erosion patterns in the landscape. Horizontal sedimentary layers have been carved into colorful plateaus, mesas, buttes, and canyons. Photo: David Myers

deep and 2.5 kilometers (1.5 miles) wide, bordered by sandstone cliffs to the north and south. Above these cliffs lie mesas dotted with piñon and juniper trees. Grasses and shrubs cover the alluvial canyon bottom, drained by the ephemeral Chaco Wash. At the west end of the Park, Chaco Wash and Escavada Wash join to form the Chaco River.

From the tops of the mesas, the natural boundaries of the San Juan Basin may be viewed in all directions: Colorado’s San Juan and La Plata Mountains to the north, the Chuska Mountains to the west, the Jemez Mountains to the east, and Mount Taylor to the south. Throughout the basin, vast deposits of uranium, coal, natural gas, and oil lie beneath the surface.

CULTURAL CONTEXT

CCNHP is located in a relatively poor and lightly populated area of New Mexico. Native Americans, primarily Navajo, constitute the majority of the residents immediately surrounding the Park. The Pueblo tribes live in areas further east, west, and south. The lands around the Park are used primarily for grazing sheep, cattle, and horses and for industrial extraction and processing of the region’s abundant deposits of energy resources.

Intertribal as well as non-Indian relations in the Southwest are shaped significantly by the extent of federal and tribal governments’ control of land in this area—and by the complexities of land interests in general. Nuances in legalities of land use are often complicated by the opposition of surface and subsurface interests, which are in many cases divided between different parties for one land parcel.¹¹ Many residents of the Southwest question the

extent of government involvement in land management in the region. In part, they feel that federal control reflects the interests of distant bureaucrats in Washington, D.C., rather than local interests, and that local revenues lost due to the exemption of government land from property taxes are not made up by federal payments and subsidies. Nevertheless, grazing and the industrial extraction of various types of natural resources have long been allowed in other federal lands in the region. In addition, setting aside lands as national parks and under the *Wilderness Act of 1964* is seen as preventing viable economic activities in those areas.

The presence in the region of many Native American reservations, which are among the nation's largest, complicates local and federal land issues. The lands in and around several of these reservations are the subject of long-standing controversies over sovereignty due to sometimes-conflicting treaties between the U.S. government and the tribes. A case in point is a century-old dispute between the Hopi tribe and Navajo Nation over approximately 248,000 hectares (1.8 million acres) of land in the Four Corners region—the meeting point of the states of Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, and Utah. Complicating and occasionally fueling the land dispute is the unresolved issue of legal control over coal reserves, valued in the billions of dollars. Not surprisingly, this conflict reverberates in management issues at CCNHP.

History of Settlement and Use

Current evidence indicates a broad and relatively continuous habitation of the San Juan Basin during the Paleo-Indian period, roughly between 8,000 and 10,000 years ago.¹² The earliest remains of human habitation in Chaco Canyon date to 7,000 to 2,000 years ago. These early inhabitants apparently were seminomadic hunter-gatherers. Between two and three thousand years ago, inhabitants of the canyon began to establish more permanent settlements, facilitated by their increasingly sophisticated use of domesticated strains of squash, beans, and corn.

During the 1,300 years of Anasazi¹³ or ancestral Puebloan culture, architecture, technology, social organization and population distribution continued to evolve. A period of increased precipitation between A.D. 400 and 500 provided for greater ease in growing crops, allowing for the first permanent occupation of Chaco Canyon and a significant population growth in the area. Settlement patterns, including subterranean pit houses and accompanying storage structures, eventually coa-

lesced into small villages. By about A.D. 500, the canyon's inhabitants were building one-story masonry dwellings above ground, organized around central pit houses.

The period from A.D. 700 to 1300, also called the Pueblo period, is associated with what is known as the "Chaco Phenomenon." The core area of Chaco Canyon appears to have served as an administrative, economic, and ceremonial nexus of a culture that dominated what today is known as the Four Corners.

The phases of occupation in Chaco Canyon left behind complex masonry structures known as great houses, containing hundreds of rooms and dozens of kivas that were much larger in scale than anything previously in the region; their appearance is unique in the Americas. Other features of the Chaco Phenomenon include road alignments (some segments are more than 64 kilometers—40 miles—long) with cut stairways and masonry ramps that lead to more than 150 outlying great houses and settlements. The Chacoans also created and depended on their water control and distribution structures to manage the scant seasonal rains, and they depended on their astronomical knowledge to anticipate calendric cycles. They left petroglyphs that marked solar events, and they appear to have used road and architectural alignments to reflect lunar and stellar events. Excavations of the great houses have revealed seashells, copper bells, and remains of macaws that suggest trade with peoples of the Pacific Coast and the Gulf of California, as well as of Mesoamerica. The Chacoans also traded

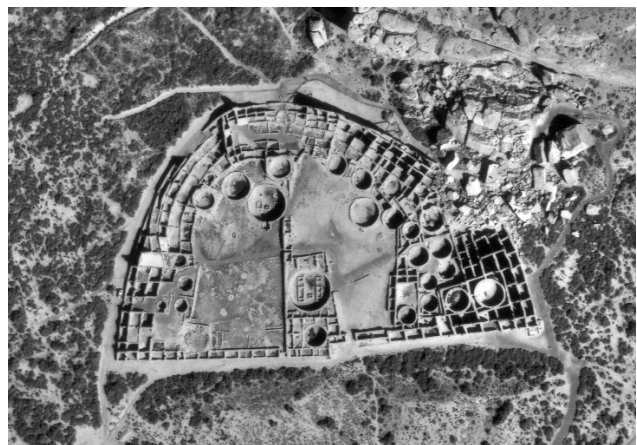


Figure 2. Pueblo Bonito seen from the air. Great houses, such as Pueblo Bonito, are unique to Chaco culture. They have large numbers of rectangular and irregular rooms, as well as round structures of different sizes, called kivas. The purpose of the kivas is not known with certainty, although it is assumed that they were communal gathering places, perhaps used for ceremonies. Photo: Courtesy National Park Service, Chaco Culture NHP Collection Archives.

their intricately decorated coiled pottery and fine turquoise jewelry.

By A.D. 1130, new construction at Chaco had ceased, and by A.D. 1300, most of the population of the canyon had moved away. Over time, Chacoan people migrated to other areas of the region, including, to the north, the Mesa Verde area; to the west and southwest, the Hopi Mesas, the Zuni Mountain area and the Chuska Mountains; and to the east and southeast along the Rio Grande.

Archaeologists generally believe that Chaco Canyon was not resettled until the Navajo migrated into the region from the north in the late 1500s or 1600s, although Native American groups assert that the canyon has been in continuous use since Anasazi times.¹⁴ Archaeological evidence shows that Chaco Canyon was used by both Rio Grande Pueblo and Navajo groups, from just before the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 against the Spanish through the mid-nineteenth century. From the end of that period through the first part of the twentieth century, Navajo populated the canyon, establishing seasonal camps, permanent dwellings, plant and mineral gathering areas, and ceremonial sites. After the establishment of Chaco Canyon National Monument in 1907, Navajo families continued to farm and graze there until the NPS initiated a resettlement program in the mid 1930s.

Evolution of Chaco Canyon as a Heritage Site

The first documented interest in Chaco Canyon by European Americans as a place of archaeological significance came in 1849, when the Washington Expedition, a U.S. Army Topographical Engineers reconnaissance detachment, encountered and wrote descriptions of Chacoan sites.¹⁵ Like the earlier Spanish military expeditions of the 1820s, the U.S. Army engineers were met by Navajo who had inhabited the area for almost four hundred years. When first “discovered,” the ruins of Chaco Canyon were seen as the abandoned vestiges of a vanished civilization. In spite of this perception, affiliated clans and religious societies of the Hopi of Arizona and the Pueblos of New Mexico claim to have visited the site to honor their ancestral homelands since the time of the emigration of its prehistoric inhabitants in the thirteenth century.¹⁶

In 1877, the U.S. government’s Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories produced extensive descriptions and maps of the Chacoan sites. The next important documentation of the site came in 1888, when

the Bureau of American Ethnology surveyed and photographed the major Chacoan sites for a study of Pueblo architecture. These photographs provide evidence that looting and vandalism of prehistoric remains were already occurring at this early date.

In 1896, relic hunter Richard Wetherill arrived at Chaco after excavating several ancestral Puebloan sites, including some at Mesa Verde, in search of “antiquities.” His successes attracted the interest of the wealthy Hyde brothers of New York, who over the next five years collaborated with Wetherill to conduct full-scale excavations at Pueblo Bonito. George H. Pepper of the American Museum of Natural History supervised the excavation work of the Hyde Exploring Expedition, while Wetherill directed a Navajo crew. The primary purpose of the expedition was to gather artifacts for the Hydys, who later donated their collections to the American Museum of Natural History in New York, where they are found today.

By this time, the proliferation of treasure-hunting excavations throughout the Southwest had created great concern among the scientific establishment of the country. Early attempts to protect archaeological sites met strong resistance from western settlers who saw these efforts as one more initiative by the federal government to regulate the use of the land. However, a 1901 federal investigation of the Hyde Exploring Expedition’s excavations and the land claims of Richard Wetherill at Chaco Canyon strongly recommended that the U.S. government create a national park to preserve the archaeological sites in the area. The General Land Office responded by putting a stop to the Hyde Expedition’s excavations at Pueblo Bonito and by rejecting Wetherill’s land claim. Despite these decisions, Wetherill continued to homestead at Chaco Canyon, and he operated a trading post at Pueblo Bonito until his death in 1910.

Eventually, after twenty-five years of concern over damage to the archaeological record, the *Antiquities Act* was signed into law in 1906. The act was designed to protect and regulate the use and care of “historic landmarks, historic and prehistoric structures, and other objects of historic or scientific interest”¹⁷ and “to preserve [their] historic, scientific, commemorative, and cultural values.”¹⁸ The new law authorized the creation of national monuments on lands owned or controlled by the federal government by presidential proclamation, without congressional approval, as was (and still is) required for the creation of national parks. The act stipulates that the extension of national monuments is to “be confined to the

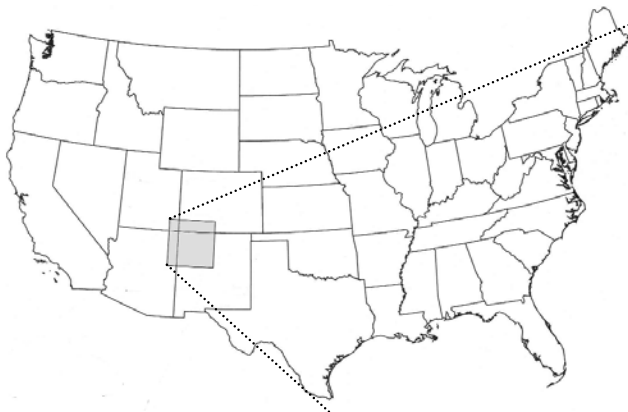
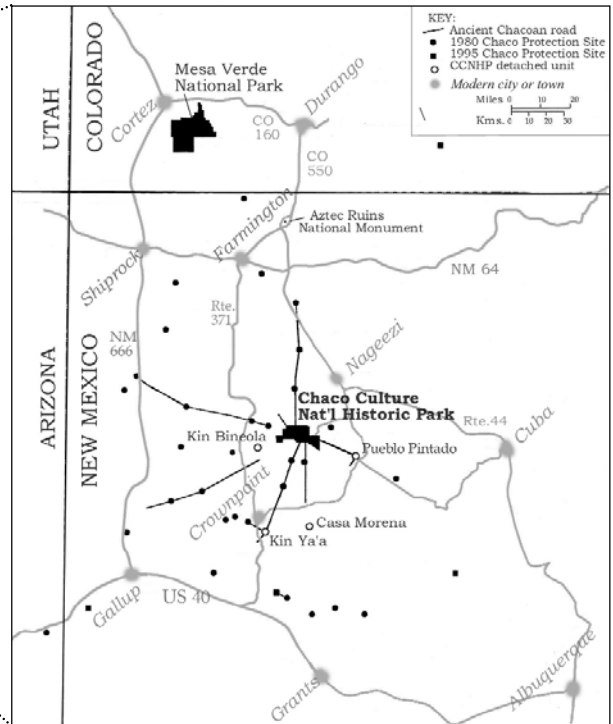


Figure 3. Region of CCNHP and Chaco Archeological Protection System. Chaco Canyon National Monument originally encompassed the canyon and surrounding mesas (7,998 hectares; 19,840 acres) and the four small detached units of Kin Biniola, Kin Ya'a, Casa Morena, and Pueblo Pintado. Additional lands were added to the monument in 1928 and 1980. The 1980 legislation recognized the extension of the Chaco culture by changing the name of the unit to Chaco Culture National Historical Park and by creating the Chaco Archeological Protection Sites.

smallest area compatible with the proper care and management of the objects to be protected.”¹⁹

In March 1907, President Theodore Roosevelt issued Presidential Proclamation No. 740, establishing Chaco Canyon National Monument.

The new national monument was administered by the General Land Office of the Department of the Interior until 1916, when it came under the administration of the newly founded NPS. In 1920, 461 hectares (1,140 acres) within the Park were technically the property of Navajo families. Over time, some of that land has been acquired by the NPS; today, title to some of these parcels, called *in-holdings*, may be divided among more than 100 descendants of the original titleholder. It is estimated that just over 120 hectares (300 acres) of these lands in the western part of the Park are still grazed, and could be mined or developed by their titleholders. About 650 hectares (1,620 acres) of land inside the Park are still held by private individuals. Complicated titles and ownership transactions over time have made it difficult for the NPS to say with any degree of certainty the extent of grazed or privately owned land.²⁰ While the NPS has an obvious interest in acquiring these lands, it recognizes the challenge involved: “Recent efforts to acquire allotments having only one owner have failed, and acquiring these small tracts will require decades of negotiations for each estate.”²¹



During the first eighty years of the Park, both governmental and nongovernmental archaeologists excavated various locations at the site. From 1933 to 1937, Gordon Vivian carried out extensive conservation work at Pueblo Bonito, Chetro Ketl, and Casa Rinconada. A Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)²² crew of local Navajo stonemasons initiated repairs in 1937 to many of the large Chacoan structures that were deteriorating after years of exposure to rain, wind, and freeze-thaw cycles, as well as years of archaeological excavations. The CCC project planted approximately 100,000 trees throughout the canyon to forestall soil erosion, constructed earthen berms for the purpose of soil conservation, and improved many roads and trails. It began construction of a road to the top of the cliff overlooking Pueblo Bonito, but World War II interrupted the project, which was abandoned in 1941 and never resumed. The conservation unit eventually left the CCC but continued work on the stabilization of ruins as park personnel.

Between 1971 and 1986, the comprehensive and interdisciplinary Chaco Center Project undertook a broad survey of the monument, the examination of previous documentation, and the excavation of a number of sites. Publication of the findings was a key component of the project. The information that resulted has allowed scholars to examine the Chaco Phenomenon from a much broader perspective, and their conclusions have greatly influenced the interpretation of the site.²³



Figure 4. Early view of Pueblo Bonito, with Threatening Rock still standing. For almost half a century, Pueblo Bonito was excavated under the shadow of Threatening Rock. Finally, in 1941, the enormous boulder separated from the crumbling mesa and fell onto the great house, destroying some thirty rooms excavated during the two previous decades. Photo: Courtesy Southwest Museum, Los Angeles, Photo # P23826

Motivated by new knowledge about the extension of the remains of Chaco culture and by threats from increased exploitation of natural resources in the region, Congress enacted legislation in 1980 adding 5,060 hectares (12,500 acres) to the monument and changing its name to Chaco Culture National Historical Park.²⁴ The law affirmed the Park's mandate of preservation, interpretation, and research. The legislation also designated thirty-three other sites in the San Juan Basin as Chaco Culture Archeological Protection Sites and provided for the addition of more sites in the future. More than two-thirds of these newly protected sites, which are not part of CCNHP, are in Navajo tribal lands, allotments or lands used by the tribe for grazing. Subsequently, the *Chacoan Outliers Protection Act of 1995* added nine new and removed four formerly designated Chaco Culture Archeological Protection Sites, resulting in a total of thirty-nine outliers, extending the area of protected sites beyond the San Juan Basin.

In 1987, the UNESCO World Heritage Committee formally recognized the international importance of CCNHP when it inscribed it in the World Heritage list. The nominating documents present the site as containing "the physical remains of the Chacoans; a unique population of a culture that has been extinct for hundreds of years."²⁵ Chaco was inscribed in the list under criterion C(iii) of the 1984 World Heritage Convention, which covers properties that "bear a unique or at least exceptional

testimony to a civilization which has disappeared" and that meet requirements of authenticity.²⁶ Five other Chacoan sites—Aztec Ruins National Monument, Casamero, Halfway House, Twin Angels, and Kin Nizhoni—were also included in the World Heritage inscription, highlighting the extension of the Chaco culture.

PARK OPERATIONS AND FACILITIES

Today, CCNHP is managed by a superintendent who reports to the director of the NPS Intermountain Regional Office in Denver.²⁷ The NPS alone is responsible and accountable for the management of the Park, and under law, other stakeholders or groups can only become involved in a consultation capacity. Currently, the Park has a staff of 21 permanent employees and 16 seasonal hires, organized in six operational divisions: the superintendent's office (2 full-time employees [FTEs]), cultural resources (the largest group, with 14 FTEs in preservation and 3 in museum curatorial), natural resources (1 FTE), law enforcement and emergency services (2 FTEs); visitor services and interpretation (4.5 FTEs), and maintenance (5.5 FTEs). The Park's base budget in 2002 was approximately US\$1.6 million, of which US\$300,000 was allocated to the Navajo site protection project.²⁸

The main access to the Park is from the northeast through a road that starts at New Mexico 44/U.S. 550, the main east-west highway from the Four Corners region to Santa Fe and Albuquerque. The distance from this highway to the Park entrance is 33.6 km (21 miles), of which 25.5 kilometers (16 miles) is on unpaved road. A second road approaches the site from the south from U.S. 40 via Crownpoint; the last 30.4 km (19 miles) of this road are also unpaved. In order to encourage access to the Park from the northeast, for a long time maps and brochures of CCNHP issued by the NPS did not indicate the existence of the south road. A third unpaved road that provided access to the site from the northwest was closed several years ago.

The Park is open all year from sunrise to sunset, although the unpaved roads can be impassable during inclement weather. The Park charges an entrance fee of US\$8 per car or US\$4 per motorcycle, which is collected at the Visitor Center.

Of the approximately four thousand archaeological sites that have been identified within Park boundaries, thirty-seven are open to visitors. These are located on the loop road and on some of the backcountry trails. Trails with interpretive signage that lead visitors through the major ruin sites are surfaced with compacted gravel. The

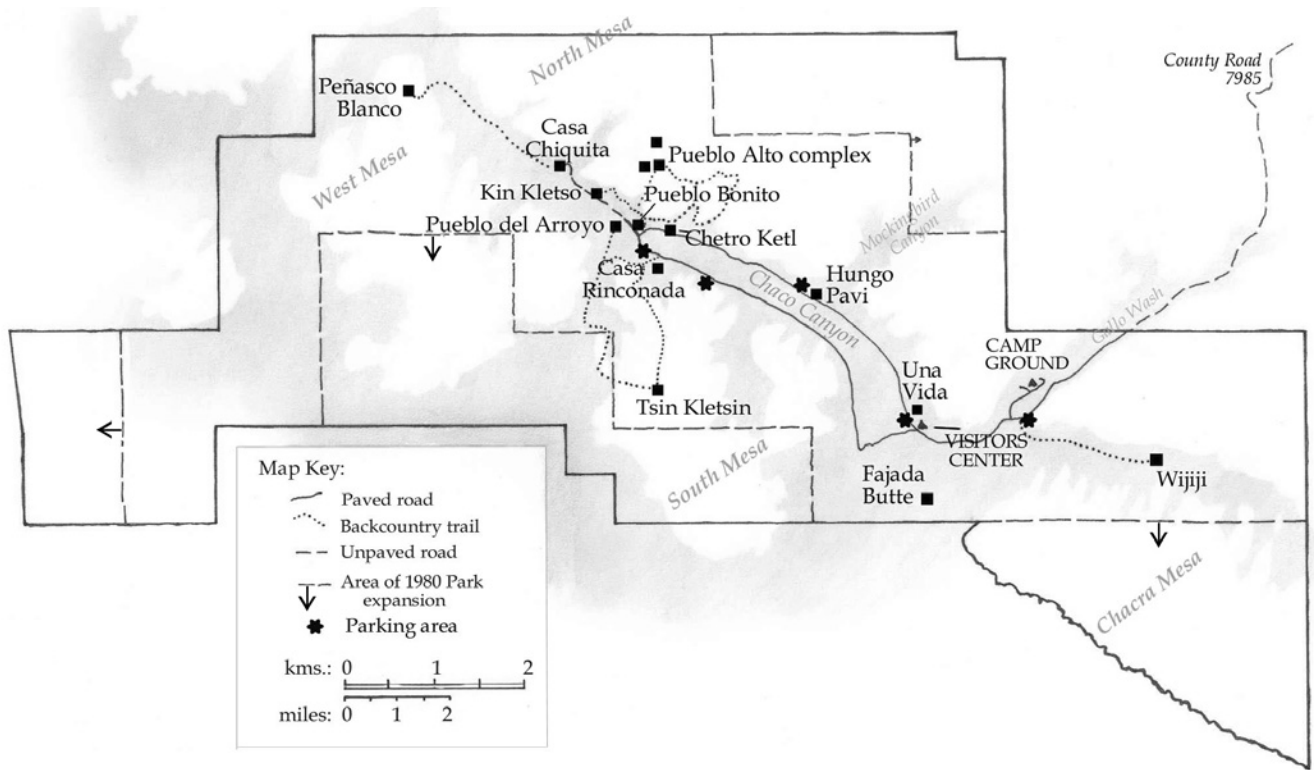
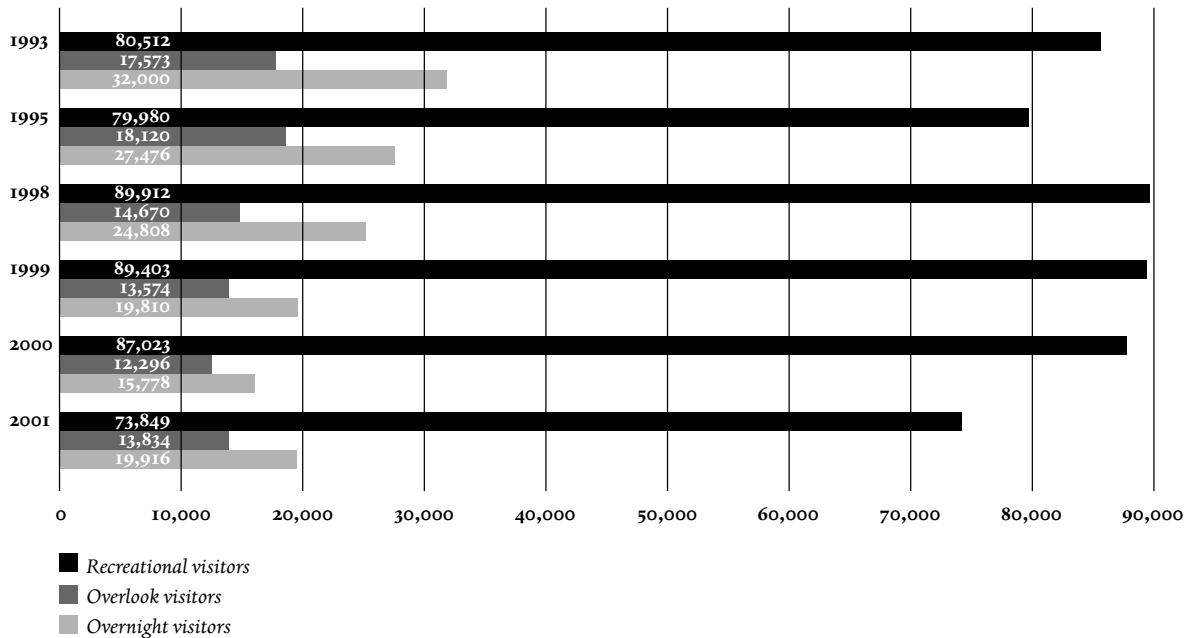


Figure 5. Current boundaries of the Park. The areas demarcated by arrows are those added in 1980, when legislation changed the status of the site from a national monument to a national historical park. The paved road inside the Park passes by the Visitor Center and makes a 14.5-km (9-mile) loop on the floor of the canyon. Visitors have easy access to over a dozen important sites from this loop road. CCNHP has some facilities for visitors, such as the Visitor Center, a small camp-ground, and picnic areas.

Figure 6. CCNHP visitation characteristics. (Source: National Park Service Public Use Statistics Office, 29 May 2002, <http://www.aqd.nps.gov/stats>.)



30.4 kilometers (19 miles) of trails in the backcountry areas and the mesa tops are rougher and are not easily discerned. Access to the backcountry sites is allowed individually or with ranger-led tours. Visitors to those areas must obtain permits so that rangers can keep track of off-trail hikers. The detached Park units are connected to the Park by paved and unpaved roads passing through private land. Thus, the construction of gates to limit access is precluded.

Starting in the 1970s, the number of visitors to the Park declined from an estimated 90,000 annually to approximately 74,000 in 2001. Park staff attribute the decline in recent years in part to the appearance of Hantavirus in the region.²⁹ According to a 1994 study, the great majority of visitors to CCNHP are of European ancestry and have had several years of higher education.³⁰ Only 20 percent of visitors are accompanied by children or teenagers. Almost half of them spend between two and six hours on site, and one-fourth stay in the Park overnight.

The Visitor Center, built in 1957, is open daily except Christmas and New Year's Day. The center has a small exhibition focused on Chaco culture and on Navajo and Pueblo history; three films about Chaco, the Anasazi, and Fajada Butte are shown in a small projection room. The Center also houses a bookstore, administrative offices, restrooms, and drinking fountains.

There are four picnic areas in the Park with a total of nine picnic tables; camping sites have their own eating areas. Parking areas along the interpretive loop road can accommodate sixty-two vehicles. Off the main entrance road are a forty-five site campground and a small group camping area with comfort stations. Minimal overflow camping space is available during peak visitation season. The site is 96 kilometers (60 miles) from the nearest town that provides accommodations. There are no lodging, automobile services, or food facilities inside the Park.

Because of its relative remoteness, all maintenance facilities, water treatment systems, and employee housing are located within the Park in an area not far from the Visitor Center. These facilities consists of six maintenance and ten housing structures, a water well and storage tanks, water and sewage pipelines, and 0.8 hectares (2 acres) of sewage discharge lagoons.³¹

Understanding and Protecting the Values of the Park

This part of the Chaco case study examines the values of CCNHP—how they were and are identified and recognized and how they are considered in the management of the site. It then analyzes the impact of operational decisions and actions on the values attributed to the site.

Three questions focus the discussions of the sections that follow:

- How are the values associated with the site understood and articulated?
- How are these values taken into account in the site’s management policies and strategies?
- How do management decisions and actions on site affect the values?

In these discussions, it is important to keep in mind that CCNHP cannot operate independently; as a unit of the NPS it must follow the directives established for the system as a whole. The NPS is a federal agency that bases the management of its holdings on the U.S. Constitution, federal laws, executive orders, federal regulations that have the force of law, and policy directives from the secretary of the interior and the secretary’s deputies. Within the NPS, policies and guidance make operational these laws and directives. At the park level, memoranda of agreement establish specific relationships with other institutions, and planning documents of various kinds specify the work to be done and the means by which it is to be implemented.

At times, conflicts arise between what is expected from all NPS units and what may be best for, or reasonable to expect from, a particular site. Each unit came into the system under different circumstances, and each brings its own unique resources, history, and potential into one vast administrative structure that is accountable to Congress and the American people. The NPS management structure and guidelines focus on the overarching needs and issues of the properties of the system. Superintendents must address the unique values and needs of their parks through decisions made with the broad powers and discretion that they are given in the system.

Current NPS policies clearly state that the fundamental purpose of the national park system is to “conserve Park resources and values,” and they further explain that this fundamental purpose “also includes providing for the enjoyment of Park resources and values by the people of the United States.”³² The NPS management policies and the various director’s orders provide a framework of compliance with laws, executive orders, and other regulations. In addition, CCNHP management is guided by the mission and purpose of the Park.

Most of the management documents available for CCNHP predate the current NPS management policies,³³ and in general, they do not analyze values or carry clear statements of the Park’s values and significance.³⁴ This does not mean that the values attributed to CCNHP have not been recognized or protected over time. Some values (scientific) were well articulated and protected from the start; other values fall under constitutional provisions that were designed to protect a broad range of civil liberties (freedom of religion and Native American rights); and others have been promoted mainly through national (as opposed to site-specific) legislation (environmental). Nevertheless, the absence until recently of a formal statement of values means that in order to understand what values have been recognized at CCNHP and how they have evolved, this study has had to take an indirect approach, relying on reviews of federal and site-specific legislation, presidential proclamations, regulations, the guidance provided by NPS, and, at the park level, priorities, allocation of resources, and actions.

Values Associated with CCNHP

When Chaco Canyon National Monument was created in 1907, the presidential proclamation cited “the extraordinary interest [of Pueblo ruins], because of their number and their great size, and because of the innumerable and valuable relics of a prehistoric people which they contain.”³⁵ This proclamation was made possible by the *Antiquities Act* passed in June 1906, which provides for the creation of national monuments that include “historic

landmarks, historic and prehistoric structures, and other objects of historic or scientific interest.”

VALUES OF CHACO

When President Theodore Roosevelt created Chaco Canyon National Monument to protect the collection of ruins and materials that survived from an ancient civilization, their potential for generating knowledge about the past was being recognized as a principal value. Among the most prominent stakeholders of the monument were anthropologists and other scholars who feared the possibility of loss of information if the archaeological remains were not protected.

At the same time, the ruins inspired awe and a new respect for earlier inhabitants of the land, considered then as a vanished race. An early description of Chaco Canyon illustrates these sentiments when it says, “the most remarkable ruins yet discovered are those standing in New Mexico. They put to shame the primitive log-hut of our forefathers; the frame shanty of the prairie town; the dug-out of the mining regions; the adobe shelter of the Pacific slope. In size and grandeur of conception, they equal any of the present buildings of the United States, if we except the Capitol at Washington, and may without discredit be compared to the Pantheon and the Colosseum of the Old World.”³⁶ From this perspective, the early stakeholder groups of the national monument extended beyond the scientific community to include all those with an interest in the past, who also saw in these ruins the validation of a new nation.

Since then, the archaeological resources have remained the central focus and purpose of the Park, and other values have come to be ascribed to them and their surroundings over time. The present mission statement reflects the ways in which the values as formally recognized have expanded: “Chaco Culture National Historic Park provides for the preservation, public enjoyment, study, and interpretation of the internationally significant cultural features and natural ecosystem processes within the Park, and of the associated cultural features found throughout the surrounding Four Corners Region.”³⁷ This statement identifies the elements of the Park to which value is now attributed: the cultural features (ruins, roads, associated artifacts, etc.), the natural ecosystem processes (plant communities, animals, water sources, courses, etc.), and the cultural features in other related sites in the region. The statement declares the obligation of the NPS to preserve these features, to provide opportunities for the public to experience and appreciate them, to

study them, and to present and make available information about them.

The current version of the Resource Management Plan³⁸ identifies the four thousand sites and 1.5 million artifacts and archival documents, which hold ten thousand years of evidence of human cultural development as having a significance that consists of:

- Evidence of a civilization that flourished between the ninth and the eleventh centuries and had high achievements in architecture, agriculture, social complexity, engineering, astronomy, and economic organization.
- Chaco “great houses”—the largest, best preserved, and most complex prehistoric architectural structures in North America. . . .
- A regional system of communities centered in Chaco Canyon and linked by roads and trade networks throughout the San Juan Basin.
- 120 years of archaeological and anthropological research in the Park . . . and . . . more than 1.5 million artifacts and archival documents. . . .
- Other links to the past and to the natural landscape through contemporary American Indians descendants of Chaco Canyon and who value it today for its spiritual connection with their past.
- A remote location offering opportunities to enjoy solitude, natural quiet, clear air, starlit skies, and panoramic vistas. . . .
- The largest long-term protected area in northwestern New Mexico, which encompasses relatively undisturbed examples of floral and faunal communities within the Colorado Plateau ecosystem, and offers opportunities to conserve the region’s biodiversity and monitor its environmental quality.³⁹

These statements present a more detailed and expanded set of values than those mentioned in the 1907 proclamation. Values have deepened and expanded as a result of research, new perspectives, and the passage of time. The number of archaeological sites recognized as being of interest and worthy of protection has increased substantially. The Park is known to include a particular kind of feature—the great houses—that has been revealed to be unique to this culture. The thousands of known Chacoan sites constitute an interrelated system of communication and trade. Known but not officially recognized at the time of designation was the survival and continuation linking contemporary tribes with the ancient builders and subsequent inhabitants of what is now Park land. The communities of flora and fauna possess a recognized interest, and they have increased in rarity and

importance because they have been protected for nearly sixty years within the Park, while surrounding areas have been grazed and subject to other uses over the same period.

This section examines the values detected in the Park's mission and the statements of significance in the latest Resource Management Plan.⁴⁰ The emergence and evolution of these values are discussed under the headings of information value (scientific and educational), aesthetic value, spiritual value, social value, historic value, environmental value, associative/symbolic value, and economic value.

Information Value—Scientific and Educational

The earliest descriptions of what is now CCNHP refer almost exclusively to the importance of the Chacoan architectural sites. The emphasis was on the potential of these remains to provide information about their creators and early inhabitants. The passage of the *Antiquities Act* in 1906 was the result of twenty-five years of efforts on the part of a group of dedicated citizens and members of the emerging anthropological profession to save the relics of the past. Fascination with Native American antiquities started when European travelers got their first glimpses of the magnificent ruins of the Southwest. However, it was in the late nineteenth century, shortly after the conclusion of the Civil War and following the heyday of the western expansion, that these antiquities captured the interest of the scientific community on the eastern seaboard. The professionals' curiosity was continuously fueled by reports and descriptions of new sites, the creation of collections exhibited in museums in Washington, New York, Philadelphia and Boston; and by their presentation to even wider publics at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 and the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in Saint Louis in 1904.⁴¹

As research was conducted and the extent of the Chacoan culture started to be understood, the information value of the archaeological resources of Chaco expanded to encompass features other than the architectural ruins. It was obvious even in the early years of scientific archaeology that these places were evidence of a sophisticated culture, with capacities for labor organization and large-scale food production. With new techniques and sensitivities to certain kinds of data being increasingly available to archaeologists, the field moved toward research into systems in the Southwest. Once the general cultural sequences in architecture and pottery had been mapped out, the evidence from the Chacoan sites

began to emerge, and it demonstrated that trade goods from great distances were moving around the region. More recently, the astronomical associations among Chacoan sites and roads, and their orientations to the movement of the sun and moon and to other heavenly events have drawn the attention of researchers.

The information value attributed to the Park resides in the remains of the architecture, the associated material culture, the ways in which materials were deposited in antiquity, the evidence of ancient lifeways, the subtle imprints of activity still visible in the landscape, and the spatial relationships among all these elements. Information value provides most benefit when professional research methods are used to study the resource. *Scientific value* is the term often given to this information value by stakeholders involved in academic research. This value is particularly fragile, and paradoxically, its preservation depends to a great extent on nonintervention. Excavation or exposure of physical remains inevitably diminishes future information value, so disturbance of any kind must be carefully considered. As new technical advances become available to archaeologists and technicians, they are able to extract far more information from physical evidence than in times past; thus, the value of pristine sites, authentic materials, soils, and more ephemeral subtleties increases with time. Logically, then, the value of reliable, early narrative and graphic documentation of these sites and their environments increases over time as well, as a record of change in condition or physical status.

The value of archaeological materials has been supported over the years by national legislation. *The Antiquities Act of 1906*—the first general legal protection afforded to the remains of the past in the United States—clearly states that archaeological and historic resources were valued at the federal level for their importance to science, education, and other national interests and that the government took seriously its responsibility to ensure their proper investigation, interpretation, and preservation. Scientific and educational values are reaffirmed by the *Historic Sites Act of 1935*, the *National Historic Preservation Act of 1966*, and the *Archaeological and Historic Preservation Act of 1974*, a more sophisticated law that underscores the importance of the information potential of archaeological and historic resources. The *Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979* further strengthens the government's position supporting the value of archaeological resources on federal and Indian lands to scholars, the public, and native peoples. By reaffirming the value of cultural

remains, these acts support and validate the efforts of the NPS to protect the resources of CCNHP.

CCNHP is rich in archaeological and cultural materials created and left behind over a period of many centuries. These materials bear witness not only to the Anasazi people but also to other inhabitants over time. The 1985 General Management Plan, in an attempt to facilitate the prioritization of protection initiatives and the determination of appropriate uses of the land, presented a rating system to establish the importance of the different types of vestiges found in the Park.⁴² Although Park staff indicate that this ranking has never had any practical application, it still provides a good indication of the relative value assigned by the NPS to the various types of cultural resources. Anasazi remains are given the highest score, as befits those that constitute the primary purpose of the Park. Within the Anasazi category, habitation and kiva sites are ranked higher than roads and trails, and higher than shrines and ceremonial sites. Artifact scatters or hearths and baking pits are at the lower end of the value scale. Remains of earlier and later habitations received lower rankings.

The educational value of CCNHP is realized when the information obtained through the research of experts and the knowledge of traditional users is communicated to a broader audience. Visitors to the site are informed or educated through observation and through the information and interpretation provided on site. Other members of the public may gain access to information through reports and publications, the World Wide Web, objects on display at museums in the United States and abroad, academic courses, television programs, and so on. The educational value ascribed to the Park today goes beyond the archaeological remains to encompass all aspects of the site such as Native American ties and natural resources and habitats.

Aesthetic Value

The aesthetic value of Chaco Canyon was recognized early on, and it is codified in the mandate of the *NPS Organic Act*⁴³ to protect “the scenery” unimpaired. Although the original designation of Chaco as a national monument placed the emphasis on the protection of the archaeological ruins and their scientific and educational values, when the site became part of the national park system in 1916, it assumed a number of values held by the new agency.

There are a number of intangible elements that contribute to the aesthetic quality of the place, such as



Figure 7. Pueblo Bonito ruins. The notion of “scenery” in national parks was associated early on with the aesthetic experience of visitors. This is still the case today at CCNHP, where aesthetic considerations hold a place of prominence in Park management. The qualities that make the place so appealing to the visiting public do not lend themselves easily to objective description, but they are recognized to include the desert landscape, the panoramic vistas, and the architectural remains. Photo: Marta de la Torre

clean air, silence, and solitude. Taken together, they are a powerful value of the Park and more than the simple sum of the parts. The evocative qualities of the landscape have changed little since 1907, but they have become more valuable because of the increasing rarity of such places in a more crowded, more mobile world.

In recent decades, the aesthetic value created by the conditions mentioned above has been bundled with other elements and is referred to by Park managers as “the quality of the visitor experience.” This quality visitor experience is seen to depend on a number of elements that include:

- sweeping, unimpaired views
- an uncrowded park
- appreciation of ancient sites with minimal distractions
- clear air
- no intrusions of man-made noise or light (at night)
- clean water and adequate facilities
- access to a ranger for personal interpretation

This “quality experience” has become a prominent value articulated by the managers of CCNHP over time, and it is specifically mentioned as such in the Resource Management Plan of 1995⁴⁴ and the 2002 draft.⁴⁵ Its protection has become one of the top priorities of Park management, second only to the conservation of the

ruins. The importance attached to it is supported by the results of a 1994 visitor study that ranked scenery, solitude, natural setting, and calm atmosphere as the most appreciated values of the Park, after its educational value.⁴⁶

Some of the items in the list above have importance beyond the aesthetic experience. For example, sweeping, unimpaired vistas are inextricably tied to ancient Chacoan roads in lands outside the Park and to the traditional Native American views from the top of the mesas that encompass the four sacred mountains of the Navajos. The loss of these vistas (whether from development or pollution) would impinge not only on Chaco's aesthetic value but also on the spiritual value of the site for some stakeholders, as well as on the educational value of the CCNHS to provide visual evidence of the Chaco Phenomenon.

Spiritual Value

Native American interest in the sites of CCNHP is reported to have been present for generations. Chaco Canyon is claimed as a sacred place for members of clans and religious societies of the Hopi of Arizona and the Pueblos of New Mexico. While they descend from a different language group and cultural tradition from the Puebloans, Navajo moved into the area in the late sixteenth or seventeenth century and thus claim attachment as well. Studies commissioned by the Park have recorded that Chaco is a place important to Native American groups for a range of ceremonial activities, including the offering of prayers, the gathering of plants and minerals, and the collection of Anasazi potsherds for use as tempering material by pottery makers. Paintings and carvings in the rocks walls of the Canyon show modern Pueblo religious symbols and Navajo healing ceremonies.⁴⁷

Federal appreciation of contemporary Native groups' interest in these ancient sites is very recent. While the *American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978* did not create additional rights or change existing authorities, it made it a requirement that federal agencies develop means for managers to become informed about Native American religious culture, consult with them about the impact of proposed actions, and avoid unnecessary interference with traditional practices. This act provided a legal framework within which consultation and negotiation could take place among the federal stewards and Native American stakeholders regarding activities being considered by either side that might affect places, animals, plants, and other federal resources of religious signifi-

cance to Native Americans. It served to signal the formal acknowledgment of an ongoing traditional culture and to signal the need for respectful consultation to ensure the protection of the interests of all stakeholders involved.

Park staff have recognized the importance of considering Native American perspectives in the management of Chacoan sites for years. However, formal cooperation with tribes came about with the creation in the early 1980s of the Interagency Management Group (IMG) to provide direction for the management of thirty-three Chaco Archeological Protection Sites (see map, p. 8). In 1990, the Joint Management Plan created by the IMG was amended to make the NPS "responsible for administration of archaeological protection sites on Navajo lands, and for requesting and distributing funds to the Navajo Tribe for the management of Navajo-related sites."⁴⁸ These arrangements were codified in the *Chacoan Outliers Protection Act of 1995*.⁴⁹ The NPS was represented in the IMG initially by the NPS Regional Office in Santa Fe, but this responsibility was transferred to CCNHP in the mid 1990s. This change expanded the relationship between the Navajo and the Park administration, which had existed for decades through the Navajo conservation crews of the Park.

In 1990 the position of Native Americans was strengthened by the passing of the *Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA)*,⁵⁰ mandating consultation with tribes prior to any disturbance of burial sites, as well as the return of burial objects or human remains to the appropriate culturally affiliated tribe. Cultural affiliation to human and material remains existing or originating from within the boundaries of the Park was formally established in 2000, when CCNHP assigned this status to the Navajo Nation; the Hopi; the Zuni; and the Pueblos of Acoma, Cochiti, Isleta, Laguna, Nambe, Picuris, Pojoaque, San Felipe, San Ildefonso, San Juan, Sandia, Santa Ana, Santa Clara, Santo Domingo, Taos, Tesuque, and Zia.⁵¹ The issues relating to cultural affiliation remain contentious, so work continues on assessing specific aspects of the claims by some groups. These discussions have gained an importance that goes beyond the concerns of NAGPRA since they indirectly affect civil, land, and water rights outside the Park.⁵²

Shortly before the enactment of NAGPRA, the superintendent of CCNHP formed the American Indian Consultation Committee, the first one of its kind in the country. Tribal participation was kept informal, and all New Mexico and Arizona Pueblo governments, the Navajo Nation, and the All Indian Pueblo Council were

invited to send representatives to the meetings. Without a clear mandate, the early times of the committee are reported to have been difficult, with the NPS advocating an informal approach of “let’s get together and talk about things of mutual importance.”⁵³ From the Native American perspective, the message is reported to have been interpreted to mean that “the purpose of this committee in real Park planning efforts is unclear. The committee seems to have devolved into a kind of nominal body that makes the Parks’ efforts look good without really doing anything of substance.”⁵⁴ Over the years, some tribal groups have participated consistently in the committee’s deliberations, the consultations have become regular, and the advice from the tribes is given serious consideration by Park management.

Laws protecting religious freedom also cover the interests of groups and individual practitioners of what have been called New Age spiritual rites and activities. A number of ancient sites around the world have attracted people wishing to experience and interact with these places in new and nontraditional ways that often blend aspects of various religions and cultures. CCNHP, to which they ascribe spiritual value, has become a favorite place for these groups. The emergence of new stakeholders often complicates the management tasks of authorities, since they sometimes bring values that are different from others of longer standing. The recognition, respect, and eventual integration of these new values in the management of the site can give rise to conflicts, as has been the case in CCNHP. These issues are explored in more detail in the last section of this study.

Social Value

In addition to the spiritual connection many Native American groups have to the site, the lands of CCNHP were home to the Navajo for several centuries, during which time they forged cultural and historical ties to the place. During the first forty years of the monument, Navajo “traversed the trails, ran livestock, conducted sings, and occupied scattered hogans along the wash.”⁵⁵ By the early 1930s, NPS administrators had determined that the grazing of sheep was damaging the ruins, and they started to evict the Navajo from the monument. In 1947, the NPS finished fencing the perimeter of the monument, and in 1949 the last Navajo family living in the site moved away, although the use of small portions of the land still continues today.⁵⁶ Scholars as well as Navajo recognize that, in addition to the religious values discussed above, “Navajos retain an emotional tie to many places [within the Park],



Figure 8. Navajo cornfield. In the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, Navajo groups arrived in the area now occupied by the Park, where they established camps and lived from farming and herding. A few decades after the creation of the national monument in the early twentieth century, NPS authorities considered that the protection of the ruins required the cessation of these activities. Although no longer living within the boundaries of the Park, many Navajo retain family and cultural ties to the place. Photo: # 44-297. Chaco Canyon: Willy George’s Corn Patch, Mocking Bird Canyon. Archives, Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of Indian Arts & Culture, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

such as former homes, burial places of relatives, and places of importance in their religious traditions.”⁵⁷

While most of the history used in this case study is that constructed by historians and archaeologists, it is important to note that the Navajo and the Pueblo groups see the history of the region in a very different way. Since many aspects and details of these histories—as well as religious and cultural beliefs—are not shared with outsiders, this study can only hint at the numerous values attributed by Native American to the lands occupied by the Park.

Historic Value

As one of the earliest national monuments and later as a founding unit of the national parks system, Chaco occupies a place of importance in the history of the NPS. By virtue of its status as a national monument until 1980, the site developed in a path that was different from that followed by national parks. The significance of the monument was clearly understood to reside in its archaeological ruins, and the main management objectives always focused on them. The emphasis on access and visitation of some other NPS units of comparable resources, such as Mesa Verde National Park nearby in Colorado, was absent from Chaco Canyon National Monument. Today these two national parks present a marked contrast in the quality of experience they provide for visitors, much of which is the result of decisions made over the years.

CCNHP also bears witness to a century of evolution of the practices of archaeology and preservation. The research activities carried out on site have reflected the practices of archaeologists and conservators at the time they were conducted. These activities have left their mark in excavated sites and reconstructed structures. This history of the Park as a heritage site is part of the information provided to visitors.

Environmental Value

The environmental qualities of the Park can be seen to have two components. The first is composed of the landforms and water resources in their relatively unimpaired condition, and the plants and wildlife native to this ecological zone, along with relict natural communities of cultivars and other species that were introduced or used in ancient or historic times. As such, this constellation of features and elements creates an environment that exist in only a few places in the world. The second important quality resides in rarity. These kinds of microenvironments are becoming less common over time, and one exists at CCNHP today because it has been protected for seventy-five years from the damage caused by grazing, mining, air and water pollution, and the introduction of exotic species.

Early in the twentieth century, environmental degradation was not a significant worry for the NPS at Chaco Canyon. Livestock were grazed in areas of the national monument for decades without their impact on the landscape ever becoming a concern. The eventual banishment of herds and flocks from the site was motivated by the damage they were causing to the ruins. Ecological concerns did, however, eventually reach the Park from the outside world. Public awareness of the fragile nature of the ecology of the planet began to flower in the 1960s, as a reaction to the damaging effects of population growth and little regulation of large-scale industry, mining, or agriculture. The U.S. Congress began to respond to the groundswell of public concern for the environment with piecemeal legislation, and Congress eventually passed the comprehensive *National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (NEPA)*. This act, and later its amendments,⁵⁸ converted into federal policy the growing recognition of the responsibility of the federal government to protect the quality of the environment.⁵⁹ Regulations for all NPS units to comply with this legislation came in the form of management guidelines protecting the environment.⁶⁰ As was the case for the information value of the archaeological resources,

the natural values of the Park were also enhanced as a result of national legislation.

The regeneration of the ecosystem of CCNHP—as a result of the almost complete elimination of grazing and other damaging uses—has transformed the Park into a reservoir for the Navajo of medical and ceremonial plants and into an important source for scientific research. Some of the conflicts that have arisen as a result of this situation are discussed in the next section.

Associative (Symbolic) Value

Many individuals attribute great value to the experiencing of a site physically and through the senses. This value has been well explored in relation with natural sites, where it has been called *naturalistic value*, defined as the direct experience and exploration of nature that satisfies curiosity, discovery, and recreation.⁶¹ In the cultural world, this value has been called associative or symbolic.⁶² The quantity and importance of the archaeological elements found in Chaco Canyon and the surrounding area, as well as the undeveloped character of the site, give the place a strong associative value. In the modern world, this value can be experienced virtually, but without doubt, it is strongest when visitors are able to experience the reality of the tangible remains of the past. This value comes out very strongly in the 1994 visitors study which found that “visitors at Chaco desire a physical environment where independence and access to ruins are achievable, Park facilities are few and primitive and an interpretative approach is self guided. This is necessary for them to experience the physical and interpretative aspect of the history depicted at Chaco on a more personal, introspective level.”⁶³

This value closely depends on the authenticity of the ruins and the vistas and terrains that have remained relatively unchanged over centuries. It is also a key element of the “quality of the experience” mentioned above.

Although the existence of this value is not articulated in any CCNHP document, the mention made often of the Park as a “special place,” as well as the preoccupation with the conservation of the authentic remains, and with maintaining a certain “atmosphere” in the Park can be interpreted as a tacit recognition of a strong associative value.

Economic Value

One of the first values associated with the Chacoan ruins was the artifacts found in them. While a big part of the interest was motivated by scientific curiosity, there was an economic value implicit in the gathering of artifacts to be sold to museums and collectors. This economic value is

still upheld by those involved in the trade of Native American antiquities, who often derive significant financial benefits from their endeavors. This economic value is seen to be negative and detrimental in many heritage quarters, since the pursuit of its benefits results in the looting of sites.

In addition to the monetary value of artifacts, one of the strongest sources of economic value of sites depends on the use of the land. In general, this aspect of economic value is the area where the interests of stakeholders create the most serious—and most public—conflicts. At CCNHP, as in many other heritage sites, the most significant economic value lies in alternative or additional uses that can be made of the Park and the surrounding land. The economic benefits that become unrealizable from lands protected as national parks or wildlife sanctuaries have always been a concern of farmers and ranchers of the western U.S. These groups presented the strongest opposition to the preservation movement, since “preserving the unique but obscure heritage of the region required the withdrawal of lands that contained tangible ruins. More often than not, these lands also included resources that had commercial value.”⁶⁴

The San Juan Basin is known to contain significant underground resources of coal, uranium, natural gas, and oil, and there are active coal and uranium mines in the lands neighboring the Park. The subsurface rights in certain areas of the Park are not held by the NPS, and theoretically, mineral, oil, and gas exploration and exploitation could take place there. In the 1970s and 1980s, the threats posed by the exploitation of these resources were so immediate that they prompted legislation expanding the surface of the Park and creating additional protected zones that contain archaeological remains. The 1985 General Management Plan for CCNHP has a strong focus on the challenges that would emerge if industrial concerns became interested in exploiting the resources within the Park and those that would be created by a rapid development of the surrounding areas.⁶⁵ Some of these issues have receded into the background, since the price of these resources in recent times has made their exploitation uneconomical. This has brought about a decrease in this type of activity, but circumstances could well change in the future.

Other alternative uses of the land that would bring economic benefits to some stakeholder groups include cattle and sheep grazing. The Navajo used Park lands for their herds and flocks for centuries, and it is only in recent years that this practice has started to be phased

out. Today, approximately 121 hectares (300 acres) in the western sector of the Park are privately owned allocations on which sheep and cattle are still grazed.

The Park also has an economic value for the surrounding communities. At present, some local families derive their livelihood from employment in the Park, mainly as part of the conservation crews. The Park also has a potential economic value for the surrounding communities if they were to develop services for visitors, such as accommodations and food. While this has not yet happened, a project to build a hotel overlooking the Park—with serious potential of having an impact on many of the values of the site—was canceled, not because of concerns about the Park, but because of a shift in the priorities of the Navajo Nation.

World Heritage Value

When CCNHP was nominated to the World Heritage List in 1984, the NPS had to consider which of the values attributed to the Park had an outstanding universal, rather than a national or local, dimension. In the context of the World Heritage Convention, *outstanding universal value* is “taken to mean cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity.”⁶⁶ The site was proposed as meeting a criterion that recognizes sites that bear a unique testimony to a civilization that has disappeared. The 1984 documents described the site as preserving “the physical remains of the Chacoans; a unique population of a culture that has been extinct for hundreds of years.”⁶⁷ The nomination underwent an important modification that led to the inclusion of several other neighboring Chacoan sites as part of the World Heritage Site. This expansion, suggested by the World Heritage Committee, recognized that the Chacoan civilization and its remains are not confined to the area covered by CCNHP.⁶⁸

In considering the values of individual sites, the criteria of the World Heritage Convention have also evolved over time. In 1992 the World Heritage Operational Guidelines were modified to allow the inscription of Cultural Landscapes. The United States could request that the inscription of CCNHP in the World Heritage List be reexamined under the new category of relict and associative cultural landscapes.⁶⁹ This would recognize the universal value of the more intangible elements of the site, such as viewsheds and spatial relationships.

The management documents of CCNHP do not address specifically the values of the site as specified in the

World Heritage nomination materials, although they mention its international significance. This does not imply that the universal values are not being protected; rather, it seems to mean that the values associated with Chaco, according to the criterion under which it was inscribed in 1987, are encompassed within the values already recognized and protected.

STAKEHOLDERS

CCNHP authorities identify “professional archaeologists and cultural anthropologists; Native American tribes; state, county, city and tribal governments; and ‘New Age’ religious followers” as the Park’s principal constituencies.⁷⁰ Defining stakeholders as any group with legitimate interest in the Park, and based on the previous analysis of the values ascribed to it, the list could be expanded to include other professionals and researchers, such as environmentalists, zoologists and botanists; Congress and some government agencies, such as the Bureau of Land Management, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the U.S. Forest Service; other NPS units with Puebloan and Chacoan sites; neighbors, local landowners, and their business communities; tourism agencies; visitors, campers, and other recreational travelers; the general U.S. public; and the international community, as represented by the World Heritage Committee and UNESCO.

CCNHP’s stakeholders certainly never gather at the same table, nor do they speak with equal force. Some of the stakeholders do not visit or have any contact with the Park. Some are only interested in the economic value of the land for alternative uses and hold this value higher than any of the others. In some cases, the values of stakeholders are irreconcilable.

In some instances, conflicts between stakeholders’ values at CCNHP have been resolved (or at least simplified) outside the arena of the Park by the introduction of new legislation or regulations, shifts in authority, or changes in priorities. In some cases, the values are simply ignored, so as not to raise interest (and therefore potential conflict) from any quarter. Conflicts over subsurface mineral rights, for example, can pit legal ownership and development rights against the need to safeguard air and water quality and against the requirement to protect ruins from damage. However, the conflict may be dormant until another energy crisis emerges or until some other issue changes the current situation.

Consultations with Native American groups, particularly those culturally affiliated to the Park, are supported and to some extent mandated by *NAGPRA*.

CCNHP created its American Indian Consultation Committee in anticipation of *NAGPRA*, and it continues to consult it extensively—but not in every instance—on matters related to the use and conservation of the site. For example, the question of limiting access to the interior of Casa Rinconada was first raised by Native American groups. However, the decision to close the kiva was not discussed with the committee, and some of its members have indicated that they would have put forth relevant matters for consideration.

Among the Native American groups, management of CCNHP seems to have a special relationship with the Navajo. This is not surprising, since they are the immediate neighbors, make up a substantial part of the Park staff, and are partners in the Chaco Culture Archaeological Protection Site Program.

Although the only official consultative group associated with the Park is that of Native Americans, the superintendent and staff of CCNHP maintain a complex network of stakeholder relationships. A great deal of effort is given to cultivating contacts with local stakeholders and decision makers in neighboring towns.

The Park superintendent and staff also adhere to a good-neighbor policy toward other Chacoan sites in the region. This policy leads to close collaboration with other NPS units, tribal cultural resource officers, and state park authorities.

EVOLUTION OF VALUES

From a comparison of the values of the Park when it was first established with those attributed to it now, it is clear that time has brought about evolution and expansion through new knowledge and through enhanced appreciation of cultural traditions and the benefits of protecting a fragile landscape. As this evolution has happened, the original information and associative values have become stronger. Some of the other values, such as the spiritual and social ones held by Native American groups, were always present, but they had to wait until quite recently for formal recognition from federal authorities. The spiritual value of the site for some New Age adherents has emerged more recently on this ancient site, and it is rather more difficult to integrate into a management strategy, given the conflict between their practices and those of the longer-term Native American stakeholders. Others, such as the natural or ecological values, have emerged as society as a whole recognized the importance of these values, in national parks and elsewhere. In all,

then, the enrichment and deepening of the values of the site have also increased the site's significance.

Consideration of Values in Management Policies and Strategies

This section examines how the values ascribed to the Park or established through national laws and other federal provisions having the force of law figure in current management policies, strategies, and objectives at CCNHP. Answers to the question of how values are taken into consideration in the management policies, strategies, and objectives have been gleaned from existing documentation, conversations with NPS and Park staff, and observations on site.

CURRENT GUIDANCE

The NPS has an impressive body of policies, regulations, and guidelines that attempt to standardize—if not the decisions in the parks, certainly the criteria and the processes used to reach them. The purpose of this guidance is to ensure fulfillment of the agency's mandate to protect and manage the great variety of nationally significant areas under its care without "derogation of the values and purposes for which these various areas have been established"⁷¹ and to comply with federal laws and regulations relevant to park operations. This weighty policy framework must still allow field personnel the flexibility needed to make decisions appropriate to the conditions of the individual parks.

The new NPS Management Policies 2001 requires four planning processes at park level: general management planning, strategic planning, implementation planning, and annual performance planning.⁷² Within this framework, planning proceeds from broad management concerns to specific implementation programs. Each part of the process is set to result in written plans. However, these new policies will be implemented gradually, and not all parks are in compliance with the planning requirements yet. In the case of CCNHP, the main management documents currently in force are the General Management Plan of 1985, the Strategic Plan for 2001–05, the Resource Management Plan of 1995, and the Chaco Archeological Protection Site System Joint Management Plan of 1983 (with its 1990 amendment).⁷³

The seventeen-year-old General Management Plan is not regarded as obsolete by staff, but it is used principally as a list of actions from which the superintendent can select some for implementation.⁷⁴ This plan cannot be

characterized as a strategic document. Rather, it focuses on certain matters that were considered problematic at the time and identifies specific actions to be undertaken. Some of the issues that were critical in 1985—such as the exploitation of natural resources around the Park and a possible exponential growth in population in the area and in the number of Park visitors—have failed to materialize or have faded into the background. For these reasons, the usefulness of the 1985 General Management Plan for the purposes of this study is limited, since it no longer reflects the main preoccupations of Park staff. In terms of day-to-day operations and the actions that most directly affect and reflect values, the most relevant documents are the Resource Management Plan of 1995 and the more recent one in draft form.⁷⁵

The research undertaken for this study identified three management priorities at CCNHP:

- Protection of the archaeological resources.
- Provision of a high-quality experience for visitors.
- Compliance with legal, statutory, and operational requirements.⁷⁶

The restoration of the natural ecosystems is also a concern, but to a lesser degree than the other three, as indicated in the 2002 draft of the Resource Management Plan, which states, "while both cultural and natural preservation efforts are compatible, conflicts may arise. In these instances, given the legislative purpose of the Park, management of cultural resources will be favored over management of natural resources."⁷⁷

The mission statement of CCNHP also speaks of four main areas of activity—preservation, public enjoyment, research, and interpretation. These four areas have been used in this study to organize the discussion in this and the next sections. It should be noted that, in most instances, all policies have an impact on many, if not all, values of a place. Some impacts are intentional and anticipated; others are not. A policy can also have a positive effect on a given aspect of a value, while at the same time it negatively affects some of its other dimensions. One of the benefits of values-based management is that it increases the awareness of these impacts through the monitoring of values. The discussions that follow attempt to identify both positive and negative results of policies, in order to illustrate the reality and complexity of management decisions; these discussions should not be construed as a criticism of CCNHP management.



Figure 9. Reburial teams working in the field. Over the last decade, the Park’s cultural resource management team has implemented a program of reburial and backfilling of excavated structures. While these methods have proved to be effective in terms of conservation, they hide from view the totality or parts of the archaeological resources. The criteria used to select the sites for backfilling look at the interpretation strategies of the Park, the materials under consideration, the fragility of the structures, and the degree of maintenance that the sites would require if left exposed. Reburied sites are regularly monitored. Photo: Guillermo Aldana

PRESERVATION POLICIES

Conservation of Cultural Resources

In accordance with the founding purpose of the Park and with subsequent legislation, the conservation of cultural resources is the first priority of CCNHP. The main policy in this area sets to avoid impairment of the archaeological resources by disturbing them as little as possible. Three strategies are being employed: Minimizing physical intervention and favoring noninvasive actions, avoiding exposure to the elements, and limiting access.

Although reconstruction of architectural ruins was carried out during the early years of the Park, this approach was abandoned decades ago. Most of the current conservation work on site consists of stabilization of the ruins, backfilling, drainage control, and erosion management. Other passive conservation measures are also employed and consist of barriers that prevent access, of documentation, and of monitoring. This minimal intervention approach, together with the policy of allowing archaeological excavations only in extreme cases, protects both the physical remains and the information they contain.

There are approximately 1,250 sites in the Park classified as Active Preservation Sites. These include several hundred of the largest and most exposed structures, all excavated sites, sites where research and analysis are going on, sites that require routine or cyclical treatment,

and sites actively threatened by erosion. The condition of 150 of these sites is assessed on a regular basis, and about 40 that are considered very sensitive are examined every year. All other sites are considered Passive Preservation Sites, and characteristically they are low-maintenance sites that are partially exposed or buried, relatively stable, unexcavated or pristine, and not actively interpreted.⁷⁸

Restricting public access to the ruins is a preservation strategy that has been used in CCNHP for decades. This strategy is also manifested in attempts made to limit the number of visitors coming to the Park (discussed below under “Public enjoyment policies”) and the resources that are accessible to those who do arrive. With over four thousand known archaeological sites in the Park, most of those that have been excavated are now reburied. Approximately fifty sites are being interpreted and are open to visitors. The rest of the exposed ruins are in what is classified as backcountry, an area that can be visited with permission from Park management.

Limiting excavations to those that are absolutely essential is also a part of the preservation strategy at Chaco, as it is in most other national parks. As part of the policy of minimizing interventions to the site, CCNHP has pointed scholarly research requests to the materials that are already excavated. This policy is supported by work designed to enhance access to the 1.5 million objects yielded over the years from excavations at Chaco and surrounding sites. A few objects are exhibited at the Visitor Center, but most of the collections are held at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque. NPS policies support this strategy, and additional funds have been allocated for the construction of improved storage and study facilities at the university, as well as to improve databases, which will facilitate access by scholars.

Chacoan Resources outside the Park

The involvement of CCNHP in the protection of resources outside its boundaries has come about as a result of legislation, rather than Park policy. In 1980, legislation⁷⁹ established the Chaco Culture Archeological Protection Site program to manage and protect 33 Chacoan sites located on tribal or federal lands, outside the jurisdiction of the NPS. There are, however, thousands of other sites, many of them in privately held lands that remain without any protection, and over which NPS has no influence or jurisdiction.

Amendments to the Chaco Culture Archeological Protection Site System Joint Management Plan⁸⁰ have made CCNHP responsible for the administration of sites

located in Navajo lands, and for requesting and distributing funds to the Navajo Nation for the management of these sites. These arrangements have brought about a close working relationship between the Park staff and Navajo cultural specialists. As with the conservation of resources inside the Park, the objectives of the management of these external resources are to maintain their integrity as remains from the past and to preserve the informational value they embody. Conservation policies and strategies of minimal disturbance have been adopted for sites located in Navajo lands. In contrast to Park resources, these sites are seldom open to visitors.

Conservation of Natural Resources

Natural resources have recently started to receive more attention from Park staff as a result of legislation, directives from NPS administration and executive orders, and the availability of funds for their study and protection. The stated long-term objective is to allow natural processes to take over, with full knowledge that this will not restore the land to Chaco-era conditions. As mentioned before, the protection of these resources can never be the top priority of the Park, and it is recognized that if conflicts were to arise between their preservation and that of cultural resources, the latter will be favored.⁸¹

At this time, much of the activity in natural resource management is directed at complying with legal or NPS policy requirements. It consists of species inventories and mapping, baseline data collection, and various kinds of impact studies. Erosion control work could be considered as environmental protection efforts; nevertheless, the principal purpose of such work is the preservation of the ruins. Other actions are directed at the protection of water and air quality, as mandated by legislation and NPS policy directives.

At first glance, the impact of pollution on the resources of the Park does not appear to be as serious as other threats. However, any deterioration of air quality would affect the viewsheds of the Park and, if extreme, could contribute to the physical degradation of archaeological materials. By limiting the number of vehicles and visitors, Park managers are ensuring a low level of ambient contamination in the immediate environment of the Park. For areas outside NPS jurisdiction, there is protective legislation that may be employed whenever problems threaten to encroach on the integrity of the site. The Park has several monitoring efforts under way to collect data on air quality, water quality, and other indicators, so that any changes will be immediately evident, and managers

may take appropriate action. These kinds of activity, including fire management planning, are largely preventive conservation on a large scale and are aimed toward preparation for dealing with problems before they affect the archaeological resources, or the quality of the visitor experience, as discussed below.

PUBLIC ENJOYMENT POLICIES

Policies in the area of public enjoyment fall into two main categories: those directed at the conditions found by visitors in the Park and those related to access to the site. Some of the elements that guarantee the quality of the visitors' experience are covered by legislation and by broad NPS directives, such as those concerned with air quality, extraneous sounds, and so on. Others, such as the choice of having interpretation delivered by Park rangers rather than by descriptive panels, on limitations on the development of the Park, are the result of CCNHP policy decisions.

The quality of visitors' experience sought by CCNHP staff can only be achieved if the number of visitors is kept relatively low, and this aim has become a driving preoccupation over the years. Perhaps the most obvious manifestation of this concern is the efforts made to isolate the site by limiting access from several existing county roads and by maintaining unpaved the main road to the Park. This unpaved entrance road could be said to have become a symbol of protection in Park lore. Although this rough, 26.5-kilometer, 16 mile ride can be a partial deterrent, particularly in winter and during the rainy season, other factors can be said to be as important in keeping visitor numbers down, such as the distance from overnight accommodations and the lack of facilities on site.⁸²

The low level of development on site has been a long-standing policy of CCNHP. In the opinion of some NPS staff, this policy came about and has been maintained as a result of the national monument status that the site had for many decades. The emphasis on visitor access found in the national parks seems to have been absent from the national monuments, where the primary concern has been the protection of the cultural, historic, or scientific resources of the units. Over the years, Park managers have kept visitor services at a minimal level. The "undeveloped" quality of the Park is seen as a great asset, by both Park staff and visitors.⁸³

In most cultural sites, values are affected and often brought into conflict over issues of conservation, access, and the quality of visitors' experience. CCNHP is

no exception, as is illustrated by decisions regarding the Park's campground. The 1985 General Management Plan calls for the creation of a new and larger campground closer to the entrance of the Park, in the Gallo Wash.⁸⁴ The justifications for moving the campground from the old location were conservation (campgrounds were too close to unique cliff dwellings) and the safety and enjoyment of visitors (camping facilities were located within the one-hundred-year floodplain and too close to the access road). Seventeen years later, the campground remains in its original place. Park management explains that more detailed studies invalidated some of the 1985 rationale, since the move to Gallo Wash implied development of a pristine area, rich in archaeological remains, while the cliff dwellings close to the old campsite are seen to have already been subjected to many decades of contact with visitors. The campsite move would also have required a considerable investment and ground disturbance to bring water and electricity to the new site. In this particular case, the information and scientific values of the pristine Gallo Wash area, as well as practical considerations, prevailed over visitor convenience and comfort.

The majority of visitors are tourists who come to the Park mainly for educational or recreational reasons.⁸⁵ There are other groups whose interest is of a different nature, and they would like to use the site in different ways. Some Native American groups fall into this category. However, the overarching goal of protection of the cultural and natural resources has precluded certain activities that Native Americans consider to be their right and obligation, such as the gathering of plants and the performance of certain rituals.

The social and spiritual values of CCNHP to Native Americans, New Agers, and other interest groups are vested to a considerable extent in the protected setting of the Park. The General Management Plan states, "a key element is the concept of maintaining the existing scene—the canyon ambience—so that the major ruins can be experienced and interpreted in a setting much like the environment that supported the daily existence of the Chacoan inhabitants."⁸⁶ Leaving aside discussion as to whether the original environment of the Chacoan age can, in fact, be recaptured, in effect, the management strategies protect the possibility of spiritual experience the site by keeping distractions and damage to a minimum. While forbidden by law to favor the practice of one religion over another, the stance of the Park protects the interests of those with a spiritual interest in the Park by

[continued on page 28]

Fajada Butte

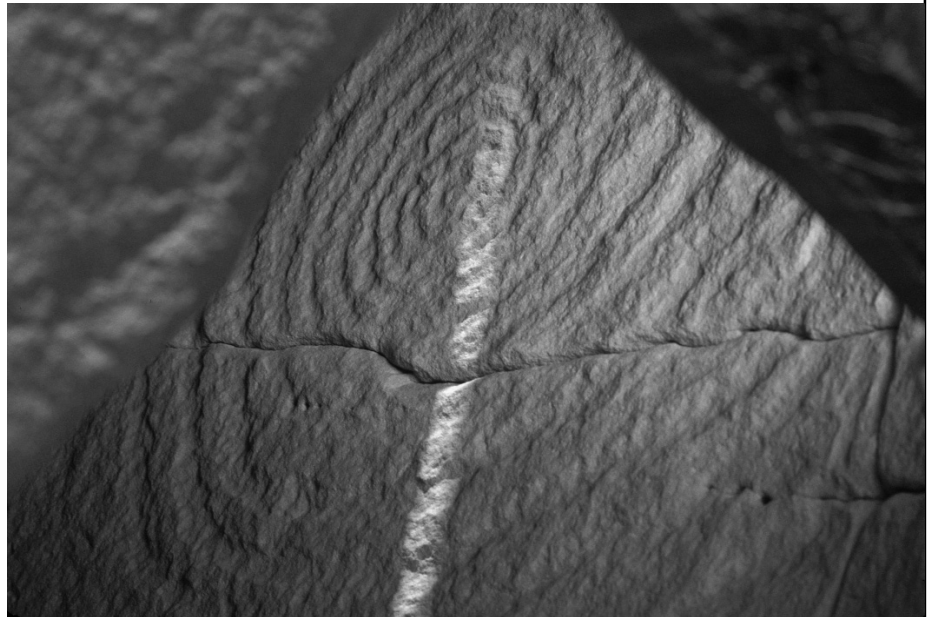
Fajada Butte is a prominent geological formation on the eastern end of the Park. Near its top, on the eastern cliff, there are three large, shaped stone slabs positioned vertically against two spiral petroglyphs. This "Sun Dagger" engraving was unknown to the NPS until its discovery by Anna Sofaer and her colleagues in 1977.¹ Sofaer interpreted her timed observations of the position of the sun and moon relative to the assemblage to indicate markers of solstices and equinoxes and of other astronomical events; some challenged her claims.² In the late 1980s, Sofaer and Sinclaire reevaluated and reaffirmed their earlier interpretation of the Sun Dagger as a calendrical marker and also noted the existence of a total of thirteen astronomical glyphs at three different locations on the butte.³

Despite the controversy over the significance of the Fajada Butte petroglyphs and other assemblages to Chaco's prehistoric inhabitants, Sofaer's findings immediately drew the interest of contemporary Native Americans as well as non-Native Americans. This interest in turn increased visitation to the butte. When Park managers became concerned about the site's stability, the superintendent prohibited access to the butte in 1982 except for visits authorized by permit.

The 1985 CCNHP General Management Plan specifies that “use of Fajada Butte will be by permit only and will be restricted to Native Americans using the site for religious purposes (requests for access to be supported by tribal leaders, including religious leaders); researchers with antiquities permits or with research proposals approved by the superintendent, after consultation with the Division of Anthropology, Southwest Cultural Resources Center, and cleared only when the proposed research is nondestructive; and, National Park Service personnel on well-justified official business approved by the superintendent.”⁴ The document also recognizes potential safety hazards to visitors in its reasons for limiting visitor access.

In 1989 Park staff discovered that even these limited activities were causing damage. On the summer solstice of that year, Park staff became aware that two of the three vertical slabs had shifted. This movement prevented the petroglyph spirals from accurately marking astronomical events. An NPS study to evaluate the causes and extent of the damage concluded that the site is extremely fragile and that even

limited access accelerates normal erosion processes. The study also recommended stabilization of the site and reevaluation of the site’s use policy. In 1990 access to the site was closed to everyone, including researchers and traditional users, pending completion of a management plan for the area and stabilization of the Sun Dagger solstice marker.⁵ Since then, the only access allowed has been by NPS employees to monitor conditions. A 1994 ethnographic study⁶ questioned whether the site should be closed to all Native Americans or whether it should be open to the ceremonial activities of



Sun Dagger. As a geological formation, Fajada Butte has always been a striking feature of Chaco Canyon. It was not until 1970, however, that the existence of a Native American marker on top of the butte became known. Today several Native American groups claim the Sun Dagger, as well as other areas on and around the butte, as culturally significant. A slight shift in the position of the stones of the Sun Dagger has skewed its alignment with astronomical events. Currently, access to the butte is limited to monitoring visits by NPS personnel. Photo: Courtesy National Park Service, Chaco Culture NHP Collection Archives.

some approved members of tribes determined to be traditionally associated with the site. Important questions in allowing privileged use of Fajada Butte by Native Americans would be whether these groups traditionally used the butte for ceremonial and other purposes, or whether use began after the 1977 “discovery” of the Sun Dagger. Those questions are difficult to answer, since Native Americans have tended to keep secret information about their sacred places and ceremonies.⁷

Many of the representatives interviewed for the 1994 study offered interpretations, which sometimes varied, of Anasazi use of prehistoric cultural features, as well as information about the vegetation and minerals on and around the butte, based upon knowledge of their own cultural systems. However, an ethno-historical literature review found no evidence of historical use of any Chaco Canyon resource by Rio Grande Pueblos prior to the mid-1980s, although some of these tribes have visited the Park for ceremonial purposes since then. Nor have contemporary Zuni ceremonial or other uses at Fajada Butte been identified. A Zia representative indicated that the tribe was not aware of the Sun Dagger before its 1977 discovery. A representative of Acoma Pueblo, however, indicated that “we continue to visit [Fajada Butte] in prayer and in ceremonial practices.”⁸ This statement could be taken to mean that the Acoma have visited the site over an

extended (although indeterminate) period of time and that their knowledge of it is not recent. The research also indicated that the Navajo have important historical and traditional associations with Fajada Butte (including having a story in their oral traditions explaining the origin of the butte), and revealed a 1974 account of the butte as a place where Navajo gathered plants. In general, though, this one instance from the Navajo is the only precise example of historic ceremonial use of the butte prior to 1977.⁹

Other questions raised by the 1994 study are whether all of Fajada Butte should be off limits to visitors, or whether some parts should be accessible to some groups. Officially, the Park has only closed access to the upper part of the butte, as indicated by the *Federal Register* notice of closure, which specifies that the butte will be closed “from the top of the talus slope, i.e., contour interval 6400,”¹⁰ and the crevice on the south face, providing access to the top has been blocked with a metal grate. However, visitors are turned away well before they reach this point; signs on the access path and at the base of the butte indicate that the site is off limits. This situation gave rise to the request that as part of the 1994 study, Native Americans be asked to define the boundaries of Fajada Butte to see how that boundary compares with the Park administration’s perception of what is or should be closed.¹¹

NPS's concern started with damage to the Sun Dagger. There are other cultural features that are currently within the inaccessible areas. The 1994 study, in part through interviews with Native American residents of the area, identified the following cultural components important to Native Americans today, listed in the order they appear when the butte is ascended:¹²

- plants used by Native Americans
- historical family living quarters, both north and south of Fajada Butte
- petroglyph panel away from the base of Fajada Butte
- historic hogan on flank of Fajada Butte
- minerals
- calendars and symbols near roofs of astronomers' rooms
- rooms where astronomers are believed to have lived
- Sun Dagger
- eagle's nest
- contemporary ceremonial area
- prayer shrine

It should be noted that the value of all of these features to Native Americans contrasts sharply with the perceptions held by non-Native Americans concerning Fajada Butte, which essentially define its significance in terms of the Sun Dagger.¹³

In the Park's examination of how to proceed in managing Fajada Butte, it requested input from

Native Americans to gain their views on the subject. Stoffle and colleagues report that "most Indian representatives would define all of Fajada Butte off limits to all non-Indian activity."¹⁴ They recommended boundaries to protect the areas of value to them, which coincide with the measures taken by Park management. The irony is that the area defined by Native Americans has become off limits to them too.

This case raises the difficult question of dealing with social values attributed to heritage sites by traditional culture groups. Should—or more to the point, could—NPS grant special access to Native Americans to Fajada Butte while excluding other groups, such as New Age adherents? The issues raised in relation to the decisions on Casa Rinconada indicated that NPS considers that any special-access arrangements that exclude other groups would be not only against policy but also unconstitutional. If this is a position that is accepted without further analysis, it puts into question whether the NPS can respect and protect the values of all stakeholders of a site.

Notes

1. For an in-depth discussion of the significance of Fajada Butte, see Stoffle et al. 1994.
2. Sofaer et al. 1982A, 169–181.
3. Sofaer et al. 1982a.
4. NPS 1985, 54.
5. NPS 1990b.
6. Stoffle et al. 1994.
7. It is common for only certain members of clans or tribes to possess knowledge concerning sacred sites and ceremonies. Secrecy with respect to non-Native Americans has also arisen because of a history of non-Native Americans intentionally desecrating sacred sites.
8. Stoffle et al. 1994, 29.
9. Wozniak, Brugge, and Lange 1993, 18–21; Stoffle et al. 1994, 26–32.
10. NPS 1999.
11. Stoffle et al. 1994, 37.
12. Stoffle et al. 1994, 38–39.
13. Stoffle et al. 1994, 38.
14. Stoffle et al. 1994, 48.

excluding activities that could compromise the integrity of the setting. Paradoxically, regulations designed to protect the ruins limit access to certain places and can prevent stakeholders from using the Park for their ceremonies or rituals.

RESEARCH POLICIES

In line with its mandate to “facilitate research activities on the unique archaeological resources,” CCNHP has a research policy based on collaboration with other NPS units and educational institutions and independent scholars, and tribal and state governments. The research priorities of the Park are developed in accordance with the Chaco Research Planning Strategy. The projects currently identified (see appendix D) are intended to fill information gaps needed for interpretation, management, and preservation, or to comply with cultural resources and environmental laws and NPS policies.⁸⁷

The Park’s long-standing collaborative research strategy has partnered CCNHP with other institutions and academic groups, such as the School of American Research in Santa Fe and the Smithsonian Institution. Of particular importance was the Chaco Center Project (1969–81), a joint endeavor of the NPS and the University of New Mexico, and one of the largest archaeological research projects ever undertaken in the U.S. The Chaco Center Project consisted mainly of fieldwork and the publication of results of this and other research activities. Starting in 1971, the project located and appraised the archaeological remains in the Park and adjacent lands. Over one thousand sites were identified, and twenty-five sites were excavated as part of the work. The project’s pioneering use of remote sensing aided in identifying the prehistoric road system that radiated outward from Chaco Canyon to connect numerous outlying Chacoan communities in the region.⁸⁸ The Chaco Center Project had a strong influence during the 1980s on the interpretation presented at the Park. More recently, a new effort of the University of Colorado–Boulder and the NPS aims to synthesize the findings of the earlier project and make them more available.

At the conclusion of the Chaco Center Project in 1981, CCNHP adopted a policy of limited archaeological excavations. All excavation proposals are reviewed by Park staff and presented to the American Indian Consultation Committee; almost without exception, requests are denied. Park personnel support this position because it avoids exposing new structures and sites that require active conservation. Native Americans tend to oppose

excavation because of concerns about disturbing human remains and sacred sites. This policy gives priority to the values of Native Americans and to the protection of future potential information value over the value of information in the present.

Despite these limitations, researchers now have greater access to CCNHP Museum collection consisting of archaeological artifacts collected from the Park and surrounding lands, as well as the Chaco archives. The archives house all the documents and other materials gathered and produced by the Chaco Center Project, as well as historical records, photographs, and all conservation records from the Park.

INTERPRETATION AND DISSEMINATION POLICIES

Interpretation at CCNHP is done according to the main lines of a program established by the 1991 Statement for Interpretation and Interim Interpretive Prospectus.⁸⁹ This document identifies seven primary concerns regarding interpretation: “promoting safety, lessening impact to resources due to increasing visitation by explaining to the public internal and external threats to the resources, telling a complete Park story, fostering sensitivity toward American Indian views of Chaco and archaeology, developing better community relations through outreach services, responding to interpretive needs of special populations, and interpreting Chaco Culture as a designated World Heritage Site.”⁹⁰

In addition, current interpretation priorities⁹¹ emphasize consultation with Native American stakeholders and the incorporation of their views and beliefs in the stories told. The interpretation available at the site includes information about the conservation of the archaeological resources. The topics and perspectives presented in the interpretation of the site acknowledge the multiplicity of values attached to the Park.

At the site, interpretation and information are available at the Visitor Center (through a small exhibition, interpretive videos, and literature for sale or through human contact at the information desk) or from regularly offered tours with Park rangers. Interpretive panels and other information in situ are limited to signs stating the sacredness of the place and to small booklets sold at some of the major sites. Some of the important sites of the Park that are not open to visitors, like Fajada Butte, are made accessible by other means—publications and audiovisual presentations in the Visitor Center.

The policy of relying on human interpreters on site is considered by Park management to be well suited to the telling of the very complex Chaco story. The contact of visitors with Park rangers and the absence of signs or interpretative panels in the ruins are believed to contribute to the quality of the experience, in particular by enhancing the associative value of the place. In addition, the presence of rangers around the site is believed to discourage vandalism and inappropriate visitor behavior. However, the majority of Chaco visitors interviewed for the 1994 visitor survey strongly preferred the freedom to visit the site independently and to rely on brochures and site panels for interpretation.⁹²

Despite the emphasis on quality of experience, certain circumstances—some of them outside the Park’s control and others created by policy—have an impact on interpretation. In general, the biggest limiting factors are the very short time that visitors are usually able to spend in the Park and the lack of access to some critical areas of the Park. With the nearest overnight accommodations (except for the Park’s campground) located an hour and a half away, travel time to and from the Park consumes at least three hours of most visitors’ day—and often as much as five. Almost half the visitors spend only between two and six hours visiting the Park.⁹³ The exhibition and the audiovisual presentations at the Visitor Center provide a good introduction to the site, but they can occupy another hour or more, shortening further the time the visitor has for direct contact with Park resources.

The area encompassed by the Park is extensive, and yet few of the four thousand archaeological sites are open to visitors. The majority of those open are located around the loop road. Access to the top of the north mesa and to the views afforded by that vantage point can give the visitors a clearer understanding of the Chaco Phenomenon, including the system of roads. The Chaco Center Project included extensive research and work at Pueblo Alto, a great house on top of the north mesa. This site was selected, among other reasons, because many of the roads linking Chaco Canyon with sites to the north converged there, and “it was felt that the excavated and restored site could play an important part in the interpretative story presented to visitors by the National Park Service.”⁹⁴ Today only a small percentage of visitors have that experience, since the mesa tops can only be reached through a difficult climb up the rock face, challenging even for able-bodied visitors.

Like all other parks in the NPS system, CCNHP uses the Internet to provide information to the public.

The Park's Web site is less developed than that of other parks in the system, but it contains practical as well as historical information. Currently, interpretative priorities include expanding educational outreach opportunities and developing a Chaco-based curriculum. Although information about the Park appears in every NPS map of the system and is listed in the National Park Foundation's *Passport to the Parks*, recent Park management has followed a strategy of discouraging publicity locally and nationally. This has been viewed as an important factor in controlling the number of visitors, and thus the conservation of the resources and the quality of the visit. The impact of these policies and strategies is discussed in the next section, on the quality of the visitors' experience.

The interpretation policies of the Park emphasize the educational value of the site. Interpretation is seen as an opportunity to communicate the story of Chaco to the public (actual visitors to the site, potential visitors and the interested public through written and other media, and virtual visitors on the World Wide Web). The topics for interpretation, however, extend beyond the factual information or communication about the Chaco stories. At CCNHP interpretation opportunities are seized to communicate most of the values of the Park: scientific, educational, aesthetic, historic, natural, and spiritual.

Impact of Management Policies on the Site's Values and Their Preservation

This final section of the case looks at the impact on the site of the policies identified earlier. It also examines three specific issues—the closing of Fajada Butte, the quality of visitors' experience, and access to Casa Rinconada—as illustrations of management decisions.

The NPS provides guidance to field personnel through its strategic plans, management policies, and director's orders. Nevertheless, these directives leave considerable discretion to the superintendents, so that their actions and responses can be appropriate to their Parks' specific conditions. In addition to these regulations, superintendents must take into consideration the resources—both human and financial—available to them, and they must set priorities consistent with the spirit of the mission and mandate of the Park.

Management decisions have impact on areas or issues that are beyond those of immediate consideration. Although values-based management seeks to protect, to the largest extent possible, all the values of a site, the total protection of all values—or of all aspects of a given

value—will seldom be possible. These are inevitable consequences of decision making, and they are the reason why it is extremely important to understand how values are affected by specific decisions.

This section examines the impact of policies and management on the values of CCNHP. The section is organized according to the type of policy being discussed. However, the interrelation among values and the multiple effects of decisions will be clearly evident, as the same issues are sometimes raised in relation to several policies. The discussions raise positive and negative effects of decisions in order to illustrate the realities and complexity of management. Comments are not intended, nor should they be interpreted, as criticism of management practices at CCNHP.

IMPACT OF PRESERVATION AND RESEARCH POLICIES

As has been established, the legislative purpose of CCNHP gives undisputed priority to the preservation of the cultural features of the Park—more specifically, to the Anasazi archaeological remains. But as also seen earlier, the values attributed to these resources are varied and evolving. Since most of the preservation policies of CCNHP are meant to protect—physically—the archaeological materials and structures, their impact on other values can vary.

The conservation policy of minimal intervention on the fabric—mainly reburial and stabilization—meets with the approval of most Native American groups. From their perspective, this conservation approach limits the efforts to preserve the ancestral heritage that some believe should be left to follow a natural course of decay. Some archaeologists also support the use of these conservation methods, which they see as protecting the information value of the archaeological record. The current policy that allows excavation only on very rare occasions also reflects the approach of minimal disturbance of the archaeological remains. Native American groups support limiting excavations, since this stance concords with cultural beliefs that these sites should remain undisturbed. The Society for American Archaeology also takes the position that “modern archaeology, in fact, frequently requires no excavation but depends upon the study of existing collections and information reported in scientific publications. Instead of digging, archaeologists bring new technologies and methods to bear upon materials excavated earlier.”⁹⁵ Individual archaeologists, however, are more

reluctant to accept this policy, as evidenced by the ongoing requests for permissions to excavate.

The excavation policy protects the potential for information valued by academics and the integrity valued by Native Americans. It reserves the resources for future investigation, limiting the information value to that which can be realized from nondestructive research activities. The emphasis on the survival of the physical remains addresses the associative value of the Park by protecting the integrity and authenticity of the remains.

The conservation policies of CCNHP also protect many other values attributed to the site. The protection that has been given to plant and animal communities in the Park has created a sanctuary with unusual or rare conditions of interest to the scholarly community and to Native American groups. The statutory and operational constraints on unnecessary disturbance of the environment—such as the Park policy of control over grazing and mineral exploration—can increase the value given to the resources' information potential, while at the same time impinging on other values, such as the spiritual and cultural values of Native Americans, as well as the economic value to those who would prefer to exploit Park lands for alternative uses.

There are a number of laws and NPS directives for the protection and management of natural resources that could be said to work against some of the cultural values of CCNHP. For example, the executive order that restricts the introduction of “exotic” (nonnative) species into natural ecosystems in federal lands, if interpreted or enforced literally, will limit the options of plants that could be used in erosion control strategies to protect the archaeological remains.⁹⁶

In other instances, strict enforcement of the regulations against removing any resources—cultural or natural—from the parks impinges on Native American practices of gathering plants and other materials for medicinal and ritual purposes and creates an interesting conflict between values. Native American groups see CCNHP as a reserve of plants and other items used for medicinal and religious purposes. The importance of the Park's resources for these purposes is heightened by the depletion of many of these species from nearby lands by grazing and other uses.⁹⁷

The 1985 General Management Plan⁹⁸ allows non-destructive uses of the site and establishes that permission is required for anyone, including Native Americans, to gather materials. During the period of consultation of the

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Casa Rinconada

Casa Rinconada is the largest known great kiva in the Park, and it is among the largest in the Chacoan sphere of influence. Excavated in the 1930s, it now stands open to the elements, with its circular walls in relatively good condition. Because of its enormous size, its impressive engineering and position, its interesting interior details, and its association with ancient religious ceremonies, it has always attracted the attention of visitors. Until recently it was the only kiva where entrance was permitted.

In 1987, a New Age event—the “Harmonic Convergence”—was planned and was expected to attract about five thousand people to the Park for two days for ceremonies, dancing, chanting, bonfires, and meditation in and around some of the major ruins. Casa Rinconada was to be an important venue for the festivities.

The Park's cultural resource specialists feared that irreparable damage would be done to the structure and to the archaeological integrity of the floors and other features, given the numbers of people and the kinds of activities planned. However, Park management felt that the Park needed to allow some access by this group to the kiva.¹ Refusing access to the petitioners might have resulted in legal action alleging discrimination. The participants in this gathering were not planning to be destructive,

but the potential for damage of a fragile site was a cause for concern. The superintendent and his staff faced the conflicting values of the mandate—on the one hand to protect the integrity of the ruins, and on the other hand to uphold the right of access to the site, religious freedom, and the mandate to provide for enjoyment by the public. In keeping with the available guidelines, the staff put together a mitigation plan establishing behavioral and geographical boundaries for all proposed activities for this event and recommended preventive measures to protect Casa Rinconada. These included laying down a protective floor over the exposed archaeological levels. Contingency plans for problems were prepared.

The event took place, attracting only about half of the anticipated crowd, and the impact on the physical resources was negligible. After the event, however, staff started to find “offerings” that were being left in some areas of the Park, principally in Casa Rinconada.² In 1991 cremated human remains started to be left in the kiva, and although the scattering of ashes from cremations may be permitted by Park superintendents,³ no permits had been granted in these cases. Perhaps more important, both the offerings and the deposit of human remains violated the sensitivities of Native American groups affiliated with the Park. Members of the American Indian Consultation Committee recommended to Park staff that access to the



Casa Rinconada viewed from above. For several years during the time that Casa Rinconada—the largest kiva in the Park—was open to visitors, a shallow layer of dirt protected the floor features. Recently, the features were uncovered when access to the interior was prohibited. Both Native American sensitivities and conservation concerns influenced this decision. Photo: Guillermo Aldana

kiva be forbidden. According to Park staff, there was disagreement among the tribal representatives as to which Native American groups had a legitimate right to use the kiva, and they also had concerns about the impact that inappropriate access would have on visitors.

In 1996, heeding the advice of the committee and concerned with visitor-induced damage and the new practices, CCNHP proposed the closure of Casa Rinconada and conducted the required environmental impact study,⁴ followed by a period of public consultation. The study expressed particular concern over the practice of leaving ashes, since their removal required the scraping of the surface where they were deposited. The removal of the ashes left on the kiva floor disturbed only the layer of fill that had been added in 1991 as a protective buffer. However, it was felt that this fill



Gate blocking the entrance to Casa Rinconada. Today access to the interior of the kiva is blocked by these barriers. From the rim above, visitors can see the kiva, including the floor features, which were obscured in the past. The uncovering of all the architectural features can contribute to the understanding of the visitor. However, the ban on access required for the protection of the ruins prevents visitors from experiencing the space of the kiva. Photo: Marta de la Torre

should be removed since it obscured the original floor and its features. The documents make no mention of Native American concerns.

Shortly after the public consultations, it was announced that Casa Rinconada would be closed to all.⁵ At present, visitors can view the interior from the doorways or the rim above, and access is possible only with special permission of the superintendent. Some Native Americans perceive the cause of the closure to be the acts of groups who had no cultural claim to the place. In their view, the actions were violating the sacredness of “their” place, and only these new rituals should have been banned. The official reason given for closing the kiva was the protection of the physical resource.⁶ Any decision to allow use by Native Americans but not by other groups would have violated the “Establishment Clause” of the U.S. Constitu-

tion, which pertains to the separation of religion and the state.

This decision is consistent with the priority given by Park management to the conservation of the archaeological remains. Continued access by visitors and the leaving of offerings and the deposit of human ashes were seen to be detrimental mainly to the physical conservation of the materials. At the same time, the obscuring of flooring elements was seen to have a negative impact on the educational value of the place, not on its spiritual values. Since backfilling and reburial are conservation strategies widely used in the Park, one can assume that the value of maintaining the visibility of floor elements—even if from a distance—was seen as critical.

The values favored by the decision to close Casa Rinconada were the scientific importance of the site—the unique, fragile, and unrestorable qualities of its original features, and the potential for yielding further information if these qualities are not disturbed. Affected by the decision were the spiritual values held by Native Americans and New Agers and the benefits to the general public from entering the kiva and experiencing the interior space.

The conflict brought about by the introduction of New Age practices in a heritage place was not an issue explored during the decision making process. However, the emergence of stake-

holder groups ascribing new values or appropriating existing ones and the need to determine legitimacy for their claims are difficult issues that many heritage managers confront. In this particular case, denying access to a new spiritual group would have been seen as religious discrimination and thus unconstitutional. The resolution of the conflict did not have to be reached through negotiations, since NPS management was able to find a “conservation” justification for the closure and thus sidestep the difficult matters of determining the legitimacy of new stakeholder groups and prioritizing values.

Notes

1. The Cultural Resource Management Guideline (NPS 28) (NPS 1994) was the primary reference for staff as they considered the request for this use of the site. NPS 28, which was supplanted in 1998 by Director’s Order 28 and the updated Cultural Resource Management Guideline (NPS 1997a), contains a procedure to be followed whenever any intervention is contemplated.
2. Although depositing materials on site is prohibited by federal and NPS regulations, offerings found in the Park are gathered by staff and curated according to the practices established by the NPS for items left at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C.
3. In accordance with NPS general regulations and applicable state laws.
4. NPS 1996.
5. NPS 1997b.
6. Loe 1996, B-04

plan, the Navajo Nation objected to these provisions as “an intrusion on the privacy and independence of Navajo ceremonial life,” but the permission requirement stood.⁹⁹ However, CCNHP strictly follows the NPS policy that collecting materials on site is not allowed; unofficially, staff recognize that some collecting is likely to be taking place. In this particular situation, the conflict goes beyond an issue of different values. There is a contradiction between stipulations in the Native American Relations Policy requiring respect of religious ceremonies and traditions, the General Management Plan, and the *American Indian Religious Freedom Act* on one side, and, on the other side, the prohibitions of removing anything from national parks found in federal regulations¹⁰⁰ and the *Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979*. The NPS Management Policies 2001 recognize the conflict and indicate that “these regulations are under review, and NPS policy is evolving in this area.”¹⁰¹

CULTURAL LANDSCAPES

NPS has recently proposed a study of the cultural landscape of CCNHP. The NPS defines a cultural landscape as “a geographic area, including both cultural and natural resources and the wildlife or domestic animals therein, associated with a historic event, activity, or person or exhibiting other cultural or aesthetic values.”¹⁰²

Early studies of the Park’s resources tended to view them as a static grouping of ruins. However, in the 1970s, the Chaco Center Project brought a greater understanding of other prehistoric landscape features, such as roads and water control devices. More recent studies have considered the astronomical alignments of prehistoric structures and natural features. A new cultural landscape study could be an important effort, since there is evidence of a sophisticated understanding of environmental dynamics and astronomical events that demonstrate a strong connection between the ancient inhabitants and their natural environment. Chaco scholars have reached these conclusions based upon a careful examination of the physical remains of Anasazi habitation of the region, which include evidence of lifeways adapted to provide food and water in an arid environment, as well as structures, roads, and astronomical markers. Their conclusions have also been supported by the prominence of landscape features in the oral traditions of the descendants of the Puebloan culture who live in the region today.

The archaeological and environmental elements of the Park are already the focus of preservation, research, and interpretation. Seeing a place from a more traditional,

reifying perspective that singles out easily definable objects (artifacts, structures, sites, etc.), as has occurred to date at Chaco, limits what is attributed value—and what, therefore, receives explicit protection and monitoring—to those types of objects.¹⁰³ A cultural landscape perspective will look at these elements together with natural features, documenting and understanding the relationship between them and identifying other significant geographical elements. The results of cultural landscape studies will be important for management purposes: they will bring a different perception of what is valuable in CCNHP and allow the development of a preservation policy in this area.

IMPACT OF RESTRICTING ACCESS

The policies of CCNHP intended to restrict access—by visitors, researchers, or stakeholders—are very successful in preserving the resources and the information they contain. However, shielding the resources from physical damage does not mean that all the values attributed to those resources are being protected. Limitations of access can have a negative impact on some values; in this case, by restricting the number of visitors to the site, the benefits of the site’s associative value are enjoyed by fewer people. The limitations of access to many areas of the Park has reduced the number of places and vistas that visitors can see and the ways in which they can experience the values of the Park. These policies have the effect of diminishing for visitors the educational and the associative values since they reduce their opportunities to come into contact with the place and to observe and comprehend the complexity of the Chaco Phenomenon. On the other hand, the policies increase the quality of the visit by fostering a quiet and reflective atmosphere. These restrictions, combined with limited interpretation around the site, do not facilitate the communication of the importance and extension of Chaco Culture beyond the lands of the Park. A visitor who stays on the canyon floor misses the views of the Chaco roads, views of the mountains sacred to Native Americans, and a panoramic view of the great and small houses seen from above.

Preservation reasons have been given for closing some important sites in the Park to visitors. Fajada Butte and Casa Rinconada, for example, hold particular significance for certain tribal members. While keeping visitors away from these sites can protect Native American spiritual values, the no-access rule, which also applies to those who hold the place sacred, prevents them from enjoying the benefits of this value.

IMPACT OF LIMITING THE NUMBER OF VISITORS

The policy of restricting contact with the resources is based on the Park’s estimation that this is the best way to protect the sites given the available resources. This policy requires a strategy to maintain a low number of visitors, but the optimal number is not known. Park staff recognize that they would have difficulty establishing the maximum number of visitors the Park could sustain at any given time from the point of view of conservation and safety; nevertheless, they feel that peak visitation days in the summer months come close to maximum carrying capacity of the site. A small number of visitors is seen as being preferable both for the sake of the physical condition of the ruins and the landscape and for the sake of the quality of the experience.

Geographical isolation and few facilities and services inside the Park support efforts to limit the number of visitors. As mentioned in the previous section, CCNHP has a long-standing policy of restricting development inside the Park. The “primitive” nature of the site is seen as positive by many visitors, who consider their stay in the Park as an opportunity to get back to nature and away from the annoyances of civilization.¹⁰⁴ The lack of services and facilities, however, limits the amount of time that those who visit can spend. More than half of all visitors spend less than six hours in the Park, and they concentrate their visit on six sites on the canyon floor. Those who venture beyond the canyon floor into the backcountry (approximately 17 percent) are usually among the one-fourth of all visitors who stay at the Park’s campground overnight. Short visits obviously present a challenge to the staff in providing a meaningful interpretation of such a complex site.

IMPACT OF STAKEHOLDER RELATIONSHIPS

CCNHP has a considerable number of stakeholders at the local, national, and international levels. The values that they ascribe to the Park vary, and Park staff recognize the balance of power that exists among stakeholders as well as the potential for serious conflict. The fact that CCNHP is administered by a federal agency gives the strongest weight to the voice of the NPS and its Cabinet-level parent, the Department of the Interior. While these authorities are the voice of the citizenry on one level, their specific institutional requirements and priorities can sometimes relegate the interests of other stakeholders to lesser positions. Compliance with higher authorities obliges the NPS to certain priorities and actions that favor

the values that underlie these mandates over what might be important to the local or nonfederal interests.

Over the years, heritage professionals—archaeologists in particular—held a privileged position among stakeholder groups. Today Native Americans might have moved to that position, and their stake in the site is broadly recognized in the management of the Park. Although concerned only with the repatriation of objects and human remains, the *Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA)* has indirectly reinforced the importance of these stakeholders and their values. The participation of Navajo, Zuni, and Hopi tribes and Pueblo groups in the Park’s American Indian Consultation Committee has given them an important advisory role in the management of the site. The superintendent brings to this group most issues that impact the conservation and use of the site—fostering a consultation that goes well beyond that mandated by NAGPRA. While Park management recognizes that officially this group has only a “consultative” role, they admit that opinions expressed by this group are given very serious consideration. The most recent Resource Management Plan draft¹⁰⁵ acknowledges the shift in the stakeholders’ power map: “over the past ten years, the Park’s American Indian Consultation Committee has gradually taken the lead role in shaping Park policy and practice. This has created a certain tension between the Native American and archaeological constituencies. Resolving this tension is the current challenge for the [Cultural Resource] division.”¹⁰⁶

The opinions of the members of this consultative committee are not always unanimous, nor are they always in agreement with those of Park management. The closing of Casa Rinconada seems to be one instance in which Native American groups feel that their cultural right to enter the ruins has been curtailed by a NPS decision requiring their asking for permission to do so, even though they were the first to suggest the closure. Conversely, however, the change in attitudes of some Native Americans toward the preservation of resources could be attributed to contacts and discussions in this Committee. Some members of the group now support “conservation” of the ruins, recognizing that some of the non-Native American values of the site can enhance and protect their own values.

There are stakeholders who have a passive relationship with the site and will continue to have one—until such time as they wish to highlight the values they ascribe to the site or until they consider those values threatened.

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Quality of Visitors’ Experience

The superintendent and the staff of CCNHP are committed to providing a high-quality experience for visitors. Management strategies are established and decisions are made with awareness of their impact on the protection of this quality. Although not explained or analyzed in detail in any official document, the quality of a visitor’s experience is believed to depend on direct contact with the archaeological and natural resources, a peaceful atmosphere, and a pristine environment. Those responsible for the Park carefully manage all three factors.

CCNHP’s mandate to maintain the archaeological resources of the Park in “unimpaired” condition requires that direct contact of visitors with the ruins be carefully controlled. The strategy employed by Park management has been to restrict access to a sufficient but relatively small number of ruins and to require special permission for venturing into the backcountry.¹

The Park’s peaceful environment is maintained by limiting the number of visitors. This strategy also favors the protection and regeneration of the natural environment. Visitor numbers at CCNHP in 2001 are variously reported to be between 61,000 and 74,000, and both figures represent a decline over totals of recent years. Other national parks in the region have visitation numbers that are several times those of CCNHP.²

CCNHP is able to maintain this isolation through a combination of factors—some circumstantial, others resulting from policy decisions. The geographic location of the Park and the relatively few accommodations for travelers in the surrounding towns play an important role in maintaining low visitor numbers. Other contributing factors are a direct result of the strategy of little development that the Park has followed for decades. These factors include maintaining the access roads unpaved (and impassable during bad weather), offering minimal services for visitors on site, limiting the number of campgrounds, and avoiding and discouraging publicity for the Park.

The efforts to maintain the low profile of the Park are easily justified in terms of legislation and managerial discretion, in the sense that it is undeniable that sooner or later any policy encouraging visitation is likely to have a negative impact on the conservation of the resources. However, other national parks—Yosemite in California, for example—have encountered great resistance from stakeholders to curtailing visitation for conservation reasons. The acceptance of CCNHP's policies designed to discourage public access could be attributed to a combination of factors. At the local level, the Park's stakeholders are relatively small groups of Native Americans or others who do not benefit much from the Park (neighboring communities). A large stakeholder group—the scientific community—can

derive benefit without visiting the Park on a regular basis. And finally, there seems to be a general lack of appreciation of the values of the Park among the public at large.

Over the years, the Park has fostered the isolation of the site by focusing access on one unpaved road and by closing or discouraging access from other directions. The paving of the main road leading into the Park has been discussed for many years. Thus far, Park management has been able to hold its position, one that is fueled by fear of increased numbers of visitors. A memorandum dated July 1989 from the superintendent at CCNHP to the regional director of the Southwest Regional Office presents a hypothetical scenario in which visitation to CCNHP would double within three years if the entry road were paved. Using the 1989 visitor number of 91,000 and estimating an annual increase of approximately 11 percent, the scenario envisaged a possible visitor load of over 200,000 by the year 2000. Park authorities considered that these new conditions would require a larger visitor center; more parking areas; new comfort stations; a larger campground; and expansion of waste treatment facilities, food services, and other amenities. It would also demand additional funds for staffing, including guides, law enforcement rangers, resource management professionals, and conservation technicians. The prospect was overwhelming, and it was considered certain

that the quality of the visit would diminish. Chaco would become a crowded national park like others in the region. Two years after this memorandum was issued, the first cases of Hantavirus were reported in the region, and tourism in the Southwest decreased dramatically.³ The anticipated population growth from regional development of the energy and fuel industries never materialized either. Current visitation is well below 1989 levels. Park management is not making any efforts to increase it, and the quality of the experience for Park visitors remains very high.

One of the management objectives stated in NPS's 1995 Resource Management Plan is to "prevent development in the primary visitor-use areas [no additional roads, no expansion or addition of parking areas, and no further support facilities] that would adversely impact the historic landscape and setting."⁴ The decision to maintain a very limited range of visitor facilities at the Park has been discussed elsewhere in this study.

The almost-pristine natural environment, another factor of a quality visitor experience, has resulted from the absence of damaging activities such as high visitation, grazing, and mining over a long period of time. This quality appreciates as Park lands continue to be protected. However, in the setting of CCNHP, the characteristics of the lands outside its boundaries can influence the experience of the visitor. While the region has

not experienced the development that was anticipated a few years back, any eventual new uses of the surrounding lands—whether habitation or mining—are likely to have a significant impact on the quality of the air and views from the Park. While this is an area that is technically outside the responsibility and control of NPS management, the good-neighbor relationship with local stakeholders that Park staff maintain could influence decisions in the future.

Some of the qualities identified with a good visitor experience are apparently supported by the results of a visitor study carried out in three national park units in 1994.⁵ As part of the study, visitors at CCNHP were asked their reasons for visiting the Park and asked to identify "aspects of the Park settings, which are composed of the managerial, physical, and social aspects of a Park, that were important to the realization of their desired experiences."⁶ The researchers found that the main reason that visitors came to Chaco was to learn about history; the desire to experience the natural environment came second.⁷

Another element contributing to the quality of the visit is related to the educational value of the Park and considered very important by CCNHP management. This element is the opportunity to offer ranger-led tours and presentations. However, the 1994 study found that visitors were not as interested in the personal contact available in ranger-led tours as they

were in the freedom to walk independently through the ruins with self-guided booklets or be helped with informational signs in the ruins and elsewhere in the Park.⁸

The undeveloped nature of the Park was considered a positive attribute by the majority of visitors interviewed, and the study goes so far as to recommend that “future proposals to add facilities or upgrade existing ones at Chaco seriously consider their potential impact on the present experience environment.

Modifications that would significantly increase the number of visitors or severely restrict visitor independence and mobility would probably have the greatest influence in detracting from the present conditions.”⁹

This last quotation from the visitor study summarizes most of the conflicts and issues raised by the focus on the quality of the experience. Visitors to CCNHP constitute a relatively small group that recognizes the ruins’ educational and symbolic value and seeks contact with nature in a tranquil environment away from crowds. The study points out, however, that the conditions that exist in the Park are the result of a series of decisions and circumstances, as discussed above. Changes in some of these conditions—such as the paving of the road or construction of overnight accommodations on site—could attract a much larger number of visitors and change the atmosphere of the place.

As always, choices are to be made between access and protection: in this case, access by many or by few, and the physical protection of the resources, as well as protection of a certain quality of visit that can exist only if it is limited to a relatively small number of people. All the values attributed to the Park are affected by decisions in this area—in both positive and negative ways.

Notes

1. Most of the regulations governing access to the resources of the Park are left to the discretion of the superintendent, as authorized by the *Code of Federal Regulations* (36 CFR 1.5). These regulations can be found in NPS 2001c. Site-specific regulations include the closure of certain areas (Fajada Butte, Atlatl Cave, and the interior chamber of Casa Rinconada), access to the ruins and front-country and back-country areas; and the requirement that permissions be requested for special uses.
2. While each park is unique in its facilities and carrying capacity, the following figures are given as indicators (from: <http://www.nps.gov>):

	Gross Park Surface (FY2001)	Visitors (FY2001)
CCNHP, New Mexico	13,750 hectares (33,974 acres)	61,602
Mesa Verde National Park, Colorado	21,093 hectares (52,122 acres)	511,764
Wupatki National Park, Arizona	17,013 hectares (42,042 acres)	537,851
Bandelier National Park, New Mexico	13,628 hectares (33,677 acres)	293,548
3. Hantavirus is carried by rodents and can be fatal to humans. Most cases have developed in rural areas of the Southwest, including some not far from the Park.
4. NPS 1995, objective page.
5. The two other parks included in the study were Mesa Verde National Park and Wupatki National Monument; see Lee and Stephens 1994.
6. Lee and Stephens 1994, 2–3.
7. Lee and Stephens 1994, 33–36.
8. Lee and Stephens 1994, 39.
9. Lee and Stephens 1994, 46–47.

As a hypothetical example, the stakeholder group represented by the international community (not very active under normal circumstances) could be stirred into action if they saw a threat to the values that placed the site on the World Heritage List. Another example of a stakeholder group, at a more local level, is the neighbors of the Park. Park staff report that this group, in general, is not very involved or interested in Park-related issues. However, if the authorities decided to pave the road leading into the Park, some of them would side with the Park against the paving project, but others would come out in favor of it. The difference in their positions would probably be based upon whether they thought a paved road created a danger to their herds from speeding vehicles, or whether they would like to facilitate access to their homes.

Park management recognizes that the position of a stakeholder group will depend upon the matter being considered. There are not many stakeholder groups who would be on the side of the Park on all issues. Thus, the Park has no unconditional allies, and the importance of maintaining good relations and open lines of communications with all stakeholders is critical.

Conclusions

The NPS mandate to preserve “unimpaired the natural and cultural resources and values of the national park system for the enjoyment, education, and inspiration of this and future generations”¹⁰⁷ carries with it a great deal of responsibility. As with many large government bureaucracies, the actual authority for selecting and implementing management strategies resides in legislation and related procedural documents written to ensure compliance. As NPS policy clarifies, “the management of the national park system and NPS programs is guided by the Constitution [of the United States], public laws, treaties, proclamations, Executive orders, regulations, and directives of the Secretary of the Interior and the Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife and parks.”¹⁰⁸

One of the overarching issues explored by this study is the possibility that the individual parks—supported by the NPS management environment—can recognize, take into consideration, and protect all the values



Figure 10. Meditating in Casa Rinconada. CCNHP is considered a place of spiritual significance by several Native American groups. More recently, New Agers have also come to view Chaco as a special place. Some of the practices of this new group of stakeholders offend the sensitivities of stakeholders of longer standing. The NPS has found itself having to decide whether all stakeholder claims are legitimate and whether some groups have rights that take priority. So far, the NPS has sidestepped a direct decision on these matters by resolving the conflict in the arena of “conservation.” Photo: Courtesy National Park Service, Chaco Culture NHP Collection Archives.

ascribed to a place. The information gathered indicates that, while there are certain constraints, this is possible. The case of CCNHP indicates that regardless of any number of values that are ascribed to a national park, the preponderant and primary ones will always be those that were the reason for the creation of the Park. In the case of CCNHP, the purpose of the Park lies in the archaeological ruins, but the value seen in those resources has grown and changed over time. However, the focus on the physical conservation of the archaeological materials could be said to be at times an obstacle to the recognition and protection of some of the values ascribed to those materials. In addition, the force of law appears to be a major factor in the recognition and protection of values in national parks.

The long history of Chaco Canyon as a heritage site allows the study of the evolution and emergence of values over time. These changes, as has been seen, have been fueled by new knowledge and by changing societal mores and professional practices. The evolution in values brought about by professional practices is best reflected in the information and associative values, protected by policies related to excavation and conservation. The fate of Native American spiritual values and the natural values of the site illustrates how, in the case of the NPS, legislation plays a major role in the creation of new values and in the recognition of stakeholders’ interests.

Other questions explored in this case have been the amount of latitude park superintendents have, within this very structured national system, to establish policies and objectives that address the specific situation of the park, as well as whether compliance with higher-level authorities limited their choices of action. The answers do not clearly fall on one side or the other. There are certainly many activities at the site, particularly at the level of reports and justification, intended to address issues of compliance. However, at a more pragmatic level, the case has shown that the superintendent has a surprising amount of latitude to interpret the national policies and directives. In addition, an examination of Chaco Canyon as a heritage place illustrates how this site is the result of its history and the decisions that have been made in the

past. In theory, policies at the national and the local levels could change drastically—with emphasis shifting, for example, between conservation and access. In fact, while policies have changed over the Park’s history, the priorities and conditions on site have remained fairly constant.

A simple comparison of CCNHP with another nearby national park can illustrate this point. This study has repeatedly pointed out the primacy of the conservation of the cultural resources in all management decisions at CCNHP. This emphasis is justified at the NPS system level by its mandate to maintain resources unimpaired, and justified at the park level by its legislative purpose. At the same time, other parks in the system were created with similar purposes and today are very different from CCNHP, with its undeveloped and tranquil setting. Mesa Verde National Park, in the nearby state of Colorado, provides an interesting contrast to CCNHP with regard to its management policies and its approach to visitors and access. Mesa Verde became a national park (rather than a national monument) in 1906, and almost immediately it became one of the national parks featured in efforts to develop tourism and visitation. Decisions were made to harden the front-country areas of the site to make them accessible to as many people who wanted to see them, and to make them relatively impervious to damage through the paving of pathways and the permanent consolidation of ruins, while forbidding all visitor access to the back-country. Today more than 500,000 people visit a small part of Mesa Verde National Park every year, where a paved road delivers them to the edge of a few archaeological sites. There they are encouraged to explore inside the ruins, eat in the restaurant, and sleep at the inn. The management philosophy favors access to a small number of sites within the Park over the strategy followed in Chaco of protective isolation of the whole Park but broad access to the resources once the visitor gets there. In the case of Mesa Verde, it could be said that there was a choice made to sacrifice some sites for the sake of access and in exchange for the protection of others in the backcountry. The archaeological remains were the reason for the creation of both parks, and both Mesa Verde and Chaco protect these resources through very different strategies.

The ever-present dilemma in heritage sites of access versus conservation appears to be handled at CCNHP with less conflict than in other parks in the system that have tried to limit the number of visitors. The geographic location of CCNHP and its surroundings has supported the isolation policy. In 1985 there was considerable concern about the impact that a change in these con-

ditions would bring to the Park. Although the anticipated threats never materialized, the development of the region remains not only a possibility but also a certainty at some point in the future. As the region evolves, the long-term protection of CCNHP depends substantially on the ability of its superintendent and staff to understand and balance the interests of all the stakeholders, to meet its compliance obligations, and to find acceptable solutions when these forces conflict. The specific threats that might emerge in the future are unpredictable. However, they are likely to originate principally from development and its corollaries of alternative land uses, pollution, increased population (and visitors). The battles to be fought will require strong Park coalitions with some of the stakeholder groups. The groups that will be the needed allies will depend on the battle to be fought. The good-relations approach with all the stakeholders (rather than strong-and-fast alliances with some of them), which is followed at this time, seems wise. As in the past, the critical element of management in the Park will be the ability of the superintendent to maintain focus on the core values of the Park, on behalf of its constituents, present and future.

Notes

1. This work has been reported in three publications: See Mason 1999; Avrami, Mason, and de la Torre 2000; and de la Torre 2002.
2. Pearson and Sullivan 1995, 7.
3. The Burra Charter is the popular name for *The Australia ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance*, which was adopted by Australia ICOMOS in 1979 at Burra, Australia. The charter has since been revised and updated, and the sole version now in force was approved in 1999.
4. For the purposes of this study, *value* and *significance* are given consistent meanings; if the organizations involved in the site use the terms differently, that difference will be clarified.
5. *U.S. Code* 1916.
6. For a discussion of these evolving definitions and conflict among them, see Sellars 1997 and Winks 1997.
7. NPS 2000a, sec. 1.4.4.
8. See NPS 2000a, sec. 1.4, for the interpretation of the *National Organic Act of 1916*, the *General Authorities Act of 1970*, as amended (*U.S. Code*, vol. 16, secs. 1, 1A–1).
9. NPS 2000a, 5.
10. Lowry 1994, 29.

11. Birdsall and Florin 1992, 349–52.
12. The information here has been gathered from Lister and Lister 1981; Lekson et al. 1988; and Strutin and Huey 1994. For a more comprehensive bibliography of Chaco Canyon, see “Bibliography of Chaco Resources” maintained by Dan Meyer, Department of Anthropology, University of Calgary: <http://www.ucalgary.ca/~dameyer/chacbib.html> (as of 12 Feb. 2003).
13. *Anasazi*, a Navajo word usually translated as “ancient enemies,” was introduced in 1936 to replace Basket Maker–Pueblo as the archaeological label for the prehistoric ancestors of the historical Pueblo people of northern Arizona and New Mexico. The Navajo are not descendants of the *Anasazi*, and some Pueblo people prefer to use a term from their own language, such as the Hopi *Hisatsinom*, to refer to their prehistoric ancestors.
14. It should be noted that in many cases, Native American histories differ from what could be called “academic” history. Attempts are made throughout this study to state Native American views if they have been made known to the authors of the study and if they differ from those presented by the NPS or academic sources.
15. A more complete time line of Chaco Canyon and CCNHP in historical times is presented in appendix A. Unless otherwise noted, the information provided in this section has come from Lee 1971, Lister and Lister 1981, and Strutin and Huey 1994.
16. Wozniak, Brugge, and Lange 1993; Stoffle et al. 1994.
17. *U.S. Code* 1906, sec. 2.
18. McManamon 2001, 257.
19. *U.S. Code* 1906, sec. 2.
20. CCNHP staff, private communication, April 2002.
21. NPS 2002b, pt. 1, 4–5.
22. The Civilian Conservation Corps was established in 1933 by the *Act for the Relief of Unemployment through the Performance of Useful Public Work, and for Other Purposes* during the Great Depression years. Originally intended to deal with the conservation of natural resources, its work later extended to the construction and repairs of paths, campsites, and so on and, in some cases, as in Chaco, to the stabilization of archaeological structures.
23. NPS 1991, 19.
24. *U.S. Code* 1980.
25. NPS 1984, 27.
26. UNESCO World Heritage Committee 1984, 7–8.
27. The official Web site of the park (www.nps.gov/chcu) provides more information on facilities and visits to the site.
28. NPS 2002a.
29. Hantavirus, a disease carried by rodents, is potentially deadly to humans.
30. Lee and Stephens 1994, 14–28.
31. Park infrastructure information is taken from NPS 2002a.
32. NPS 2000a, 1.4.3.
33. NPS 2000a.
34. NPS 2002b contains a statement of the Park’s significance (to be discussed below). The 1995 Resource Management Plan (NPS 1995) and the 1985 General Management Plan (NPS 1985) mention the importance of only the archaeological remains, which constitute the purpose of the Park.
35. U.S. President 1907.
36. Hardacre 1879, 274.
37. NPS 2002b, 1.
38. NPS 2002b.
39. NPS 2002b, 3–4.
40. NPS 2002b.
41. For an extensive description of the interest in Native American antiquities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see Lee 1971.
42. NPS 1985, 119–29. Appendix B summarizes the various categories and their “scoring” value.
43. *U.S. Code* 1916.
44. NPS 1995.
45. NPS 2002b.
46. Lee and Stephens 1994, 33–36.
47. Wozniak, Brugge, and Lange 1993; Stoffle et al. 1994.
48. NPS 1990a.
49. *U.S. Code* 1995.
50. *U.S. Code* 1990.
51. *Federal Register*, 12 March 1999 (vol. 64, no. 48).
52. See Hoover 2001, 34–37.
53. Stoffle et al. 1994, 81.
54. Begay et al. 1993, quoted in Stoffle et al. 1994, 81.
55. Keller and Turek 1998, 190.
56. Keller and Turek 1998, 191.
57. Brugge 1993, 12.
58. *U.S. Code* 1969, as amended by Public Law 94-52, 3 July 1975; Public Law 94-83, 9 Aug. 1975; and Public Law 97-258, 4(b), 13 Sept. 1982.
59. Sec. 101 (*U.S. Code*, vol. 42, sec. 4331) (a): “The Congress, recognizing the profound impact of man’s activity on the interrelations of all components of the natural environment, particularly the profound influences of population growth, high-density urbanization, industrial expansion, resource exploitation, and new and expanding technological advances and recognizing further the critical importance of restoring and maintaining environmental quality to the overall welfare and development of man, declares that it is the continuing

- policy of the Federal Government . . . to create and maintain conditions under which man and nature can exist in productive harmony, and fulfill the social, economic, and other requirements of present and future generations of Americans.”
60. NPS 1982 was superseded and replaced by NPS Director’s Order No. 12: Conservation Planning, Environmental Impact Analysis, and Decision Making (NPS 2001b), effective 8 Jan. 2001.
 61. See Satterfield 2002.
 62. For a discussion of the associative/symbolic value of heritage, see Lipe 1984, 1–11.
 63. Lee and Stephens 1994, 135.
 64. Rothman 1989, 17.
 65. NPS 1985.
 66. UNESCO World Heritage Committee 2002, I.C.3.
 67. NPS 1984, 28.
 68. UNESCO World Heritage Committee 1985.
 69. UNESCO World Heritage Committee 1999.
 70. NPS 2002b, II.1.
 71. *U.S. Code*, vol. 16, sec. 1a–1.
 72. NPS 2000a, sec. 2.3.
 73. Respectively, NPS 1985; NPS 2000b; NPS 1995, currently being revised and existing in draft form, NPS 2002b; and NPS 1983, with its 1990 amendment, NPS 1990a. These and other documents consulted for the preparation of this case are listed in the references.
 74. A new general management plan is required by the new NPS management policies, but no time has yet been specified for its development.
 75. NPS 2002b.
 76. A list of the more specific management priorities or actions identified in the 2002 draft of the Resource Management Plan (NPS 2002b) is presented in appendix C.
 77. NPS 2002b, 4.
 78. NPS 2002b, 11–12.
 79. Public Law 96-550 (*U.S. Code* 1980).
 80. NPS 1990a.
 81. NPS 2002b, pt. 2, 1.
 82. The closest towns with tourist accommodations are Bloomfield, Aztec, and Farmington. Santa Fe and Albuquerque, the two major cities in the area, are two and a half to three hours away by car. There has been talk in the Navajo Nation of building a hotel in Crownpoint, south of the site, but there has been no follow-up. Some local families allow camping on their lands during the high season.
 83. Lee and Stephens 1994, 37–40.
 84. NPS 1985.
 85. Lee and Stephens 1994, 38.
 86. NPS 1985, 46.
 87. NPS 2002b, 7.
 88. For details of the work done by the Chaco Center Project, see Lister and Lister 1981.
 89. NPS 1991.
 90. NPS 1991, 6.
 91. Information provided by CCNHP staff.
 92. Lee and Stephens 1994, 127.
 93. Lee and Stephens 1994, 127.
 94. Lister and Lister 1981, 157.
 95. Stuart and McManamon, n.d., 8.
 96. Public Law 90-583 (*U.S. Code* 1968) provides for the control of noxious plants on federal lands, and Executive Order 11987 (*U.S. President* 1997), “Exotic Organisms,” calls for restrictions on the introduction of exotic species into natural ecosystems on federal lands. NPS policy also states that control or eradication of an exotic species will be implemented when that species threatens resources (such as native species, rare or endangered species, natural ecological communities or processes) on park lands (NPS 1988). Priority is placed on control programs for exotic species having a high impact on park resources and for which there is a reasonable expectation for successful control.
 97. *Code of Federal Regulations*, title 36, sec. 2.1 (Parks, Forests, and Public Property). Although current regulations provide some latitude to park superintendents to designate that certain fruits, berries, or nuts may be gathered if this has no adverse effect on park resources, no other gathering or consumptive use of resources is allowed unless authorized by federal statute or treaty rights.
 98. NPS 1985.
 99. CCNHP N-5.
 100. *Code of Federal Regulations*, title 326, pt. 2.
 101. NPS 2000a, sec. 8.5, 90.
 102. Birnbaum 1994, 1.
 103. For a discussion of limiting versus more holistic perspectives toward cultural heritage, see Byrne et al. 2001, 55–72.
 104. Lee and Stephens 1994, 46.
 105. NPS 2002b.
 106. NPS 2002b, pt. 2, p. 1.
 107. NPS 2000b, 10.
 108. NPS 2000a, 5.

**Appendix A:
Time Line During Heritage Status**

- 1250–
present Members of affiliated clans and religious societies of the Hopi and the Pueblos of New Mexico have visited Chaco on pilgrimages to honor their ancestral homelands.
- 1823 The Spanish military expedition led by José Antonio Vizcarra passed through Chaco Canyon and produced the first written account identifying the ruins there.
- 1849 While in the area of Chaco Canyon, the Washington Expedition, a U.S. Army Topographical Engineers reconnaissance detachment headed by Lt. James H. Simpson, encountered and wrote descriptions of Chacoan sites. The resulting government report included detailed illustrations by the brothers Richard and Edward Kern. This was the first substantial written and graphic report concerning the cultural heritage at Chaco Canyon.
- 1877 William Henry Jackson, a photographer who was part of the U.S. government’s Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories led by F. V. Hayden, produced more extensive descriptions and maps of the Chacoan sites. Although Jackson took more than four hundred photographs of the area, none of them developed because his experimental film failed.
- 1888 Victor and Cosmos Mindeleff of the Bureau of American Ethnology surveyed and photographed the major Chacoan sites for a study of Pueblo architecture. Their photographs included the documentation of looting and vandalism. As the oldest-known photographs, they provide a baseline for measuring the subsequent effects of looting, vandalism, visitation, and natural collapse at the sites.
- 1896– After excavating several ancestral Puebloan sites in the Four
- 1901 Corners region, including sites at Mesa Verde in 1888, amateur archaeologist and relic hunter Richard Wetherill came to excavate at Chaco Canyon. Wetherill drew the interest of the Hyde brothers of New York to the site. Over the next five years, the Hyde Exploring Expedition conducted full-scale excavations at Pueblo Bonito. George H. Pepper of the American Museum of Natural History in New York supervised the excavations, while Wetherill “led a band of Navajo laborers who did much of the actual digging.”¹ Their primary purpose was to accumulate artifacts for the museum’s collection. Numerous artifacts were shipped to the museum, where they are located today.
- 1901 Following an investigation of the Hyde Expedition’s excavations at Chaco Canyon, as well as the land claim of Richard Wetherill there, which included Pueblo Bonito, Chetro Ketl, and Pueblo del Arroyo, General Land Office special agent S. J. Holsinger strongly recommended that the U.S. government create a national park to preserve Chacoan sites, and he compiled a report documenting many ruins. The General Land Office responded by suspending the Hyde expedition’s excavations at Pueblo Bonito. The Hyde expedition never resumed its archaeological work at Chaco.
- 1902–10 Despite the denial of Richard Wetherill’s land claim in 1902, he continued to homestead at Chaco Canyon and operated a trading post at Pueblo Bonito until his controversial murder in 1910.
- 1906 As a direct result of controversy over Wetherill’s excavations at Chaco Canyon and claims by professionally trained archaeologists that they did not properly account for the site’s scientific significance, Congress enacted the *Antiquities Act of 1906*. The law—the nation’s first law to protect antiquities—granted the president the power to establish national monuments.
- 1907 President Theodore Roosevelt set aside approximately 20,630 acres at Chaco Canyon as Chaco Canyon National Monument under the authority of the *Antiquities Act*. Until 1916, when the National Park Service (NPS) was created, the monument was administered by the federal agencies that had jurisdiction over the land.
- 1916 Congress passed the *Organic Act*, which provided for the creation of the NPS, which has adminis-

- tered Chaco Canyon National Monument and Chaco Culture National Historical Park since that time.
- 1921–27 Neil Judd of the National Geographic Society led the excavation of several hundred rooms at Pueblo Bonito, as well as parts of Pueblo del Arroyo and several smaller sites, for the Smithsonian Institution. A significant goal of this expedition was to preserve the excavated Pueblo Bonito; extensive conservation treatments were conducted at the site.
- 1928 After a resurvey of the monument property indicated that the lands mentioned in the original proclamation did not contain all of the described ruins, President Calvin Coolidge issued a second proclamation, Presidential Proclamation 1826, to correct these errors.
- 1929–41 Edgar Lee Hewett of the School of American Research and Donald D. Brand of the University of New Mexico led excavations at Chetro Ketl and many small Chacoan sites.
- 1931 Congress enacted legislation (*U.S. Statutes at Large* 46: 1165) that related to several aspects of interest in lands at Chaco. First, it authorized the exchange of private lands within the monument for federal lands elsewhere in New Mexico. In addition, it authorized the driving of livestock across monument lands for owners (and their successors in interest) of certain lands in and adjoining the monument. The act also specified means by which the University of New Mexico and the Museum of New Mexico and/or the School of American Research (located in Santa Fe) could continue to conduct research on their former lands within the monument or, at the discretion of the secretary of the interior, on other lands within the monument.
- 1933–37 Gordon Vivian carried out extensive conservation work at Pueblo Bonito, Chetro Ketl, and Casa Rinconada.
- 1937 A Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) crew of all-Navajo stonemasons initiated repairs to many large excavated Chacoan structures that were deteriorating due to years of exposure to rain, wind, and freeze-thaw cycles. In addition, the CCC built a two-hundred-person camp near Fajada Butte to house workers to provide improvements to the monument. These workers planted approximately 100,000 trees throughout the canyon, constructed earthen berms for the purpose of soil conservation, and improved many roads and trails. They began construction of a road to the top of the cliff overlooking Pueblo Bonito, but World War II interrupted the project, which was abandoned in 1941.
- 1941 After a year of heavy rains, Threatening Rock fell onto and destroyed approximately thirty rooms at Pueblo Bonito that had been excavated in the 1920s.
- 1947 After the last Navajo resident at the monument moved away, the NPS erected fences at its boundaries to exclude livestock and thereby to restore rangeland vegetation.
- 1949 The University of New Mexico deeded lands in Chaco Canyon National Monument to the NPS in return for continued rights to conduct scientific research at the monument.
- 1959 As part of the NPS's Mission 66 construction campaign, which extended from 1956 to the agency's 100th anniversary in 1966, the NPS created the monument's Visitor Center, staff housing, and campgrounds.
- 1969–81 The NPS and the University of New Mexico run the Chaco Center, a multidisciplinary research unit established to enhance the understanding of prehistoric Native American cultures of the San Juan Basin. The center carried out fieldwork and publication and experimented with the application of new technologies to research. The center's work identified and appraised over one thousand sites in the Park and adjacent lands and used remote sensing to identify the prehistoric road system that radiates outward from Chaco Canyon to connect numerous outlying Chacoan communities in the region.
- 1979 The NPS approved the document Chaco Canyon National Monument General Management Plan/Development Concept Plan (NPS 1979).
- 1980 Congress enacted Public Law 96-550, which created Chaco Culture National Historical Park, taking the place of Chaco Canyon National Monu-

- ment. This law contained three general provisions: (1) it added approximately 12,500 acres to the Park; (2) it designated thirty-three outlying sites in the San Juan Basin as Chaco Culture Archaeological Protection Sites and provided for the addition of other sites in the future; in addition, it created the Chaco Culture Archaeological Protection Site program to jointly manage and protect Chacoan sites located on lands not under the jurisdiction of the NPS; and (3) it authorized a continuing program of archaeological research in the San Juan Basin.
- 1981 The Chaco Culture Interagency Management Group—composed of the NPS, the Bureau of Land Management, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Navajo Nation, the State of New Mexico, and the U.S. Forest Service—was created to provide for development of a joint management plan for formally designated Chacoan outlying sites, as required under Public Law 96-550. The agencies involved in the development of the plan had either jurisdiction over or interest in lands containing outlying sites.
- 1982 The Park superintendent closed access to Fajada Butte, a Native American sacred site, to all visitors except those authorized by permit. The site was closed after the NPS became aware that visitation was causing irreparable damage by shifting the position of the Sun Dagger petroglyph, so that it could no longer mark astronomical events.
- 1983 The Chaco Culture Interagency Management Group issued the document Chaco Archeological Protection Site System: Joint Management Plan, which contained guidelines for the identification, preservation, protection, and research of designated Chacoan outlying sites.
- While preparing the Park’s general management plan document, the NPS conducted consultations with other federal, state, local, and tribal agencies, as well as with private organizations and individuals, in a series of meetings held in March 1983 in Farmington, Crownpoint, and Albuquerque, New Mexico.
- 1984 Based on public comments and planning and management discussions that followed, the NPS prepared the document Draft General Management Plan/Development Concept Plan/Environmental Assessment, Chaco Culture National Historical Part, New Mexico. The document included a description of proposed actions (general management plan) as well as alternatives for major proposals contained in the plan. In October, this document was released for public and agency consideration. On November 1, a public meeting to receive comments was held in Albuquerque. According to the NPS, “the majority response was in favor of the general management plan proposals as described in the draft document.”² In the fall of the same year, the NPS also held meetings with federal, state, and local agencies; the Navajo Nation; energy companies; and individuals to review the most important land management and protection proposals contained in the Draft Land Protection Plan, Chaco Culture National Historical Park.
- 1985 In September, the Southwest Region approved the document General Management Plan/Development Concept Plan/Chaco Culture National Historical Park, New Mexico.
- 1987 The World Heritage Committee of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) designated Chaco Culture National Historical Park as a World Heritage Site. The site was inscribed under criterion C(iii) of the World Heritage Convention (1984), which requires that the property “bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a civilization which has disappeared” as well as meet minimum requirements for authenticity.³
- 1991 Chaco Culture National Historical Park instituted the Chaco American Indian Consultation Committee. The committee consults with affiliated Native American pueblos, tribes, and governments in order that the Park better understand the history and legacy of its Chacoan ancestors.
- 1993 The NPS created the Vanishing Treasures Initiative, which is aimed at providing additional funding for ruins conservation at agency sites in the Southwest, including CCNHP. Since that time, the program has provided significant funding to the Park for carrying out conservation-related work and for hiring conservation-related staff.

1995 Congress enacted the *Chacoan Outliers Protection Act of 1995* (Public Law 104-11). The act added nine new outlying sites and removed four formerly designated outlier sites as Chaco Culture Archeological Protection Sites. These changes increased the total number of outliers to thirty-nine and extended their geographic scope outside the San Juan Basin.

1996 World Monuments Fund named CCNHP and associated archaeological sites in New Mexico to its list of the 100 most endangered monuments.

In response to the urgings of affiliated Native American tribes, the NPS closed both entrances to the great kiva known as Casa Rinconada. This action came about because adherents of New Age beliefs performed private rituals in the kiva, which included the scattering of crematory ashes. Native Americans perceive such actions as desecrating the sacredness of the place.

1997 The Natural Resources Defense Council and the National Trust for Historic Preservation issued the report *Reclaiming Our Heritage: What We Need to Do to Preserve America's National Parks*, which included CCNHP as one of several case studies of threatened parks.

The NPS and the University of Colorado–Boulder formed a collaboration aimed at creating a synthesis of the work done by the Chaco Center Project (1968–81) through a series of conferences.

1999 The National Parks Conservation Association named CCNHP to its list of the ten most endangered national parks in the United States.

As part of its required activities under the *Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990* (NAGPRA), CCNHP determined that the Navajo Nation should be included in its list of Native American tribes deemed to be culturally affiliated with the prehistoric inhabitants of Chacoan sites. This determination meant that the Navajo, like the Pueblo and Hopi tribes of the region who had already been considered descendants, can legally claim possession of human remains and artifacts within the Park. This finding has produced a series of protests from the Hopi and most of the Pueblo tribes, as

well as criticism from the Society for American Archaeology.

Notes

1. Rothman 1989, 23.
2. NPS 1985, 4.
3. UNESCO World Heritage Committee 1984, 7–8.

**Appendix B:
Resource Classification**

This scoring system was developed to determine the relative importance of resources after the addition of new lands to the Park as a result of the 1980 legislation. Although it was not intended to be used as a ranking of resources, it does seem to indicate the relative value attributed to resources on the basis of cultural affiliations, site type, and date. The information was taken from NPS 1985, 119–29.

Cultural Affiliation

- Score 5: Anasazi
- Score 4: Archaic, Paleo-Indian, and unknown (probably Anasazi or Archaic)
- Score 3: Navajo and unknown (probably Anasazi or Navajo)
- Score 2: Historic and unknown (Navajo or historic)
- Score 1: Unknown

Site Type

- Score 5: Habitation, kiva
- Score 4: Hogan, Anasazi road or trail, signaling site, shrine or other ceremonial feature, Anasazi ledge unit, field house, water control feature, Archaic or Paleo-Indian camp
- Score 3: Artifact scatter; other—Archaic or Paleo-Indian; camp—Anasazi, Navajo, historic, or unknown; rock art; storage site.
- Score 2: Baking pit; Anasazi or unknown hearth; Navajo or historic ledge unit; burial; ranch complex
- Score 1: Road or trail-Navajo or historic; animal husbandry feature; sweathouse; oven; quarry; cairn; other-Navajo or historic; other-unknown; unknown

Period of Occupation

- Score 5: Anasazi
- Score 4: Paleo-Indian, Archaic and Navajo 1750–1900; unknown-Anasazi or Archaic
- Score 2: Navajo 1900–45 and unknown; historic pre-1900; unknown-Navajo or historic
- Score 1: Unknown

**Appendix C:
Management Priorities of CCNHP
in 2001**

Summary of Cultural Resources Priorities

- Updating all site records and maps to provide accurate information on the resources managed by the Park
- Developing and managing NPS and GIS databases to monitor Park natural and cultural resources
- Conducting NPS-required cultural resources studies to improve understanding and management of the resources
- Complying with all laws regulating activities on federal lands and consulting with culturally affiliated tribes on Park management issues
- Publishing final reports on past archaeological projects to make the data available to the general public
- Continuing the site preservation backfilling program to protect archaeological sites for the future
- Developing preventative maintenance plans to conduct regular, cyclic preservation treatments to prevent catastrophic site loss
- Conducting baseline site condition assessments and completing architectural documentation as required
- Compiling the backlog of preservation records and preparing annual reports documenting site preservation treatments
- Gaining museum collection accountability through the development and implementation of museum management plans and through reducing the backlog of uncataloged objects and archives
- Preserving museum collections by properly conserving and storing objects and archives and housing them in facilities that meet federal and NPS standards

- Making museum collections more accessible to researchers by providing information on museum holdings in a variety of formats
- Updating museum exhibits to provide more accurate information to visitors about the current understanding of the Park's cultural resources

Summary of Natural Resources Priorities

- Initiating studies and monitoring to gather data for use in developing a management plan for the Park's pioneering elk herd
- Continuing studies of Park vegetation and wildlife to understand Park resources and their long-term recovery from poor range management prior to 1990
- Conducting studies to understand the Park's ecological significance and its role in conserving regional biodiversity
- Implementing and monitoring recommendations from research studies to effectively manage natural resources
- Continuing development of the night sky monitoring program
- Developing hydrology data as needed to manage erosion threats to cultural sites and to preserve riparian habitats and biodiversity

Source: NPS 2002b, pt. 4, 3-5.

**Appendix D: Park Research Plan
Project List, Fiscal Year 2001**

1. Compare and correlate mythological texts relating to Chaco Canyon.
2. Analyze change and continuity of ethnobotanical lore among Chaco Navajos.
3. Compare Navajo land concepts between on- and off-reservation communities.
4. Collect, organize, and index Florence Hawley Ellis's research notes.
5. Research and publish results of Stan Stubbs's investigation of four Northern New Mexican Chacoan sites.
6. Chacoan engineering influence on the Eastern Pueblo area.
7. Assessment of Chacoan cultural, religious, and population spread into the Rio Jemez drainage, etc.
8. Investigation of the Chaco Canyon/Mesa Verde interface and its connection with Sandy Wash.
9. Increase and improve archaeological input into ruins stabilization.
10. Testing program to refine survey chronologies.
11. Testing program to identify connecting features around/between big buildings.
12. Analysis of "kiva" features.
13. Study of mounds associated with Chacoan buildings.
14. Continue prehistoric roads research.
15. Compile a history of stabilization at Chaco.
16. Solicit interpretations of Chaco data from a worldwide list of scholars.
17. Compile an ethnological history of archaeology at Chaco.
18. Compile a literary history of Chaco research.
19. Examine dating techniques to augment construction dates in Chacoan buildings.
20. Examination of available water resources in and around Chaco.
21. Evaluate prehistoric population estimates at Chaco.
22. Define (redefine?) the concept and extent of the thing called "Chaco."
23. Settlement pattern.
24. Examination of unreported excavations, specifically small sites analysis.
25. Extensive remote sensing study of San Juan Basin (and beyond?).
26. Study of evolution of outlying communities.
27. Study of evolution of canyon communities.
28. Survey and test excavations of Chuska Valley outliers.
29. Survey and test excavations of Cortez-Grand Sage Plain area outliers.
30. Survey of San Juan, LaPlata, and Animas drainages (Farmington-Bloomfield Area) for roads and outliers.
31. Document and publish Salmon Ruin excavations.
32. Investigate and document American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) material on White House in Canyon de Chelly, New Mexico (possible Chaco outlier).
33. Salvage and report on Chacoan structure at Morris 41 site.
34. Excavate sample of Chaco Canyon baking pits to determine usage.
35. Research and prepare detailed surface map of Holmes Group.
36. Systematic artifact sampling, without collecting, of range of site types in Chaco Canyon.
37. Archival research (collation of existing documents, collections, etc.) regarding Chaco.
38. Chacoan pottery continued research.

39. Evolution of Aztec ruins.
40. Research of Navajo digging graves for materials to sell to Burnham Trading Post.
41. Comparative study of great house locations and trading post locations.
42. Paleoenvironmental model of the San Juan Basin.
43. Tree ring climate analysis.
44. Prehistoric water model.
45. Agricultural potential of environment for selected areas.
46. Model of progression/regression of prehistoric woodland cover.
47. Pack rat midden study.
48. Prehistoric weather model.
49. Environmental research outline for cultural resource management projects.
50. Small site subsistence analysis.
51. Research multiple site layout as a form of megasymmetry.
52. Definition of Chaco Phenomenon: highest level of abstraction, etc.
53. Definition of regional interaction and its boundaries.
54. Define Bonito Phase outside Chaco Canyon as well as inside.
55. Chaco to post-Chaco: Hiatus or transitional progression?
56. Prehistoric farming and land-use strategies in the Zuni area.
57. Investigation of outward diffusion of Chacoan culture.
58. Develop a comparable recording format for ceramics and lithics in the San Juan Basin and elsewhere.
59. Investigation of Chacoan affinities in the Dolores River area.
60. Investigate Chacoan contacts, influences, and affiliation with other cultures in the Chuska Valley.
61. Investigate and determine reasons underlying site of location and prehistoric exploitation of mineral resources.
62. Investigate application of nonegalitarian society models to the Chaco Anasazi.
63. Demographic change, response to environmental stress, and network exchange relationship in Puerco River area.
64. Research small, limited-activity sites to gain better understanding of larger sites.
65. Survey and testing of Chacoan sites around Salmon Ruin.

Source: NPS 2002b, app. E.

**Appendix E:
Summary of Legislation
Pertinent to CCNHP**

***Antiquities Act of 1906 (U.S. Code,
vol. 16, secs. 431–33)—1906***

This act was passed to protect archaeological resources from damage or destruction at the hands of looters, amateur archaeologists, and curious visitors. The drafters of this legislation were aware of the far superior protection afforded such resources in countries in Europe and the Middle East. The act specified that unauthorized excavation of any historic or prehistoric ruin may be punishable by fine and/or jail. It gave the president the authority to proclaim as national monuments landmarks of historic or prehistoric interest. It named the federal departments that might issue permits for proper research on federal lands and allowed that further constraints on such activity could be issued by these departments.

***National Park Service Organic Act
(U.S. Code, vol. 16, secs. 1–4)—1916***

This act established the NPS and provided its mandate, stating that it “shall promote and regulate the use of the federal areas known as national parks, monuments, and reservations hereinafter specified by such means and measures as conform to the fundamental purposes of the said parks, monuments, and reservations, which purpose is to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wildlife therein, and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations.”

The director of the NPS is given considerable latitude in this legislation for granting privileges, leases, and permits to use the land or its resources, provided that the grantees are satisfactorily qualified.

***Historic Sites Act of 1935
(U.S. Code, vol. 16, secs. 461–67)—1935***

This law declares the national policy to preserve for public use historic sites, buildings, and objects of national significance for the inspiration and benefit of the people of the United States. The NPS director, on behalf of the secretary of the interior, shall ensure that the following functions are undertaken:

- Make, organize, and preserve graphic, photographic, and narrative data on historic and archaeological sites, buildings, and objects;
- Survey these resources to determine which possess exceptional value as commemorating or illustrating the history of the United States;
- Conduct the research necessary to get accurate information on these resources;
- Enter into contracts, associations, partnerships, etc., with appropriate organizations or individuals (bonded) to protect, preserve, maintain, etc., any historic or ancient building, site, etc., used in connection with public use.

Further, it establishes the NPS Advisory Board and Advisory Council to assist the director in identifying sites for NPS nomination, in managing those sites, and in gathering information from the most qualified experts on the matters within their purview.

***National Historic Preservation Act of 1966
(NHPA), as Amended (U.S. Code, vol. 16,
secs. 470ff.)—1966***

This act declares the recognition of the federal government of the importance of historic places to the quality of life in the United States and declares a commitment to the preservation of the historical and cultural foundations of the nation as a living part of its community life and development, in order to give a sense of orientation to the American people. It states that “Although the major burdens of historic preservation have been borne and major efforts initiated by private agencies and individuals, and both should continue to play a vital role, it is nevertheless necessary and appropriate for the Federal Government to accelerate its historic preservation programs and activities, to give maximum encouragement to agencies and individuals undertaking preservation by private means, and to assist State and local governments and the National Trust for Historic Preservation in the United States to expand and accelerate their historic preservation programs and activities.” Further, it makes clear that the federal government has a strong interest to provide leadership in the preservation of the prehistoric and historic resources of the United States and of the international community of nations and in the administration of the national preservation program in partnership with states, Indian tribes, Native Hawaiians, and local governments. Two sections are particularly pertinent to archaeological resources such as those at CCNHP:

SECTION 106 REGULATIONS

This section of the *National Historic Preservation Act of 1966* requires federal agencies to take into account the effects of their undertakings on historic properties and afford the Advisory Council a reasonable opportunity to comment on such undertakings. The procedures define how agencies meet these statutory responsibilities. The “106 Process” seeks to accommodate historic preservation concerns with the needs of federal undertakings, through consultation early in the planning process with the agency official and other parties with an interest in the effects of the undertaking on historic properties. The goal of consultation is to identify historic properties potentially affected by the undertaking; assess its effects; and seek ways to avoid, minimize, or mitigate any adverse effects on historic properties. The agency official must complete this process prior to approving the expenditure of federal funds on the work or before any permits are issued.

The regulations that implement section 106 define the appropriate participants and the professional and practical standards they must meet; they also describe the components of the process necessary to comply with the *National Historic Protection Act*, including the identification and recording of historic properties; an assessment of threats, potentially adverse effects, and readiness for emergencies; consequences of failure to resolve such threats; and the appropriate kinds of consultation required.

SECTION 110 REGULATIONS

Section 110 of the *National Historic Preservation Act of 1966* sets out the historic preservation responsibilities of federal agencies; it is intended to ensure that historic preservation is fully integrated into the ongoing programs of all federal agencies.

The guidelines that accompany this act show how federal agencies should address the various other requirements and guidelines in carrying out their responsibilities under the act. The head of each federal agency, acting through its preservation officer, should become familiar with the statutes, regulations, and guidelines that bear upon the agency’s historic preservation program required by section 110.

The section also requires that all federal agencies establish a preservation program for the identification, evaluation, nomination to the national register, and protection of historic properties. Each federal agency must consult with the secretary of the interior (through the director of the NPS) in establishing its preservation pro-

grams. Each must use historic properties available to it in carrying out its responsibilities. Benchmarks in this respect include the following:

- An agency’s historic properties are to be managed and maintained in a way that considers the preservation of their historic, archaeological, architectural, and cultural values;
- Properties not under agency jurisdiction but potentially affected by agency actions are to be fully considered in agency planning;
- Preservation-related activities must be carried out in consultation with other federal or state agencies, Native American tribes, and the private sector;
- Procedures for compliance with section 106 of the same act are to be consistent with regulations issued by the Advisory Council.

Agencies may not grant assistance or a license to an applicant who damages or destroys historic property with the intent of avoiding the requirements of section 106.

Archaeological and Historic Preservation Act of 1974 (U.S. Code, vol. 16, secs. 469ff.)—1974

Supporting earlier legislation, this act specified that it was federal policy to require the preservation, to the extent possible, of historical and archaeological data threatened by dam construction or alterations of terrain. It includes the preservation of data, relics, and specimens that might be lost or destroyed as the result of flooding, road construction, or construction-related activity, by any U.S. agency or by someone licensed by such an agency, or by any alteration of the terrain caused by a federal construction project or federally licensed activity.

It requires the notification of the secretary of the interior if any such damage is possible, in advance of the start of such a project, so that the appropriate mitigating action could be initiated (research, salvage, recovery, documentation, etc). To reduce the burden on contractors, landowners, and other citizens, this law requires the secretary of the interior to initiate such work within sixty days of notification and to compensate the owner for the temporary loss of use of the land, if necessary. It also specifies the reporting procedures to be used, disposition of recovered materials, and the coordination of such work at the national level, and recommends follow-up procedures in order to assess the need for and success of this program.

American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978 (U.S. Code, vol. 42, sec. 1996)—1978

This act states that “it shall be the policy of the U.S. to protect and preserve for American Indians their inherent right of freedom to believe, express, and exercise the traditional religions of the American Indian, Eskimo, Aleut, and Native Hawaiians, including but not limited to access to sites, use, and possession of sacred objects and the freedom to worship through ceremonials and traditional rites.”

The Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979 (U.S. Code, vol. 16, sec. 470aa-mm)—1979

The purpose of this act is to secure for the present and future benefit of the American people the protection of archaeological resources and sites on public lands and Indian lands, and to foster increased cooperation and exchange of information between governmental authorities, the professional archaeological community, and private individuals having collections of archaeological resources and data obtained before 31 October 1979.

It requires that any investigation and/or removal of archaeological resources on public or Indian lands be contingent on a qualified applicant obtaining a permit. The successful application must demonstrate that the work is in the public interest, that recovered materials will remain U.S. property (curated by an appropriate institution), and that the work proposed is consistent with the larger management goals of the lands in question. Other requirements include tribal notification, reporting, oversight, deadlines, prohibited acts, and confidentiality, among others.

Government Performance and Results Act of 1993 (U.S. Statutes at Large 107 [1993]: 285; Public Law 103-62)

This act requires federally funded agencies to develop and implement accountability systems based on goal setting and performance measurement and to report on their progress in both planning and results in the budgetary process. The act was created to address a broad range of concerns about government accountability and performance, with the goal of improving citizens’ confidence in the government by forcing accountability in the managerial and internal workings of federal agencies. All partici-

pating agencies must complete three documents: a strategic plan, a performance plan, and a performance report.

Strategic plans, issued every three to five years, must include a comprehensive mission statement, a description of general goals and objectives and how these will be achieved, identification of key factors that could affect achievement of the general goals and objectives, and a description and schedule of program evaluations. Agencies are required to consult with Congress and to solicit and consider the views and suggestions of other stakeholders and customers who are potentially affected by the plan.

Performance plans are done on a yearly basis, covering the agency’s fiscal year. Linked with the strategic plan currently in effect, performance plans must include the goals for the fiscal year; a description of the processes and skills and of the technology, human, capital, and information resources needed to meet the goals; and a description of how the results will be verified and validated.

Performance reports, prepared at the end of each year, detail the agency’s achievements toward the accomplishment of the annual goals set out in the performance plan.

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As is true with all the case studies in this series, this study of the management of Chaco Culture National Historical Park draws on extensive consultation among the authors, the members of the project steering committee, staff of the site being examined, and authorities from the responsible agency, in interviews and frank discussions. The authors have consulted an extensive range of reports, plans, and statutory and guidance documents relating to this Park, to related park units, and to the U.S. National Park Service in general. We have relied on the staff of the Park and of NPS headquarters in Washington, D.C., for the interpretation of this documentation and the rationale for many decisions made on site. The text presented here reflects many hours of discussion among the steering committee, as well as several rounds of draft reviews.

The situation studied in this case existed between October 2001 and June 2002, when the case was developed and written. Since then, there have been changes in management personnel, and certain policies are being reviewed and modified. Our analysis focuses on the situation as we found it and not on the recent transitional changes. Management is a continuous process, and our case presents a snapshot taken at a particular moment in time. A similar study done in a few years would likely capture a different picture.

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